THE LIVING AGE

CONTENTS

for April, 1934

Articles

OIL AND WAR ..... *Antoine Zischka* 102
INTERNATIONAL ROUND-UP
I. REVIVAL IN ENGLAND ..... *An American Observer* 111
II. OUR POLICY ..... *Sir Oswald Mosley* 114
III. THE END OF VIENNA ..... *A Viennese* 116
IV. HOLLAND IN THE PACIFIC ..... *Dr. Wilhelm Mautner* 118
V. YELLOW AND WHITE ..... *Franz Herczeg* 122
THE MODERN PYTHAGOREANS ..... *Bassett Jones* 125
NOTES ON PRE-HISTORY ..... *Egon Friedell* 137
WORDS FROM THE WISE
I. SEVEN DAYS ..... *G. K. Chesterton* 144
II. HOW LONG CAN MAN LIVE? ..... *Professor Dr. Walter Weisbach* 147
III. THE PRICE OF HAPPINESS ..... *Paul Valéry* 150
EUROPE IN REVOLUTION ..... *The Editor* 152
THE THIRD MR. JOYCE ..... *Ronald Symond* 160
HEAVEN (*Verse*) ..... *Siegfried Sassoon* 164

Departments

THE WORLD OVER 95
PERSONS AND PERSONAGES
ANDRÉ MAUROIS AND EDWARD VII ..... *Bernard de Vaulx* 130
THE RETURN OF JACQUES COPEAU ..... *Maggie Guiral* 132
GERMANY'S UNCROWNED KING ..... *A Berlin Correspondent* 134
BOOKS ABROAD 165
LETTERS AND THE ARTS 170
THE SCIENCES AND SOCIETY 174
AS OTHERS SEE US 178
OUR OWN BOOKSHELF 182
WITH THE ADVISORY COUNCIL 184
COMING EVENTS 186

THE LIVING AGE. Published monthly. Publication office, 10 FERRY STREET, CONCORD, N. H. Editorial and General offices, 253 Broadway, New York City. 50c a copy. $6.00 a year. Canada, $6.50. Foreign, $7.00. Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at Concord, N. H., under the Act of Congress, March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1934, by The Living Age Corporation, New York, New York.

THE LIVING AGE was established by E. Littell, in Boston, Massachusetts, May, 1844. It was first known as LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, succeeding *Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature*, which had been previously published in Philadelphia for more than twenty years. In a prepublication announcement of LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, in 1844, Mr. Littell said: 'The steamship has brought Europe, Asia, and Africa into our neighborhood; and will greatly multiply our connections, as Merchants, Travelers, and Politicians, with all parts of the world: *so that much more than ever, it now becomes every intelligent American to be informed of the condition and changes of foreign countries.*'

Subscribers are requested to send notices of changes of address three weeks before they are to take effect. Failure to send such notices will result in the incorrect forwarding of the next copy and delay in its receipt. Old and new addresses must both be given.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE GUIDE POST

THE assassination of General Sandino gives added timeliness to Antoine Zischka's melodramatic account of the petroleum barons, who seem to rank and even collaborate with the munition makers as instigators of war. Last month we translated from the Spanish a review of M. Zischka's new book, *La guerre secrète pour le pétrole*, which has an introduction by Francis Delaisi. This month's contribution by M. Zischka himself was written after the book appeared and contains new material bearing on Anglo-American rivalry in Central America and on Sir Henri Deterding's connection with the Hitler movement. Like other French journalists who have done so much to expose Sir Basil Zaharoff and the Comité des Forges as the only trouble makers in an otherwise peaceful world, M. Zischka tends to oversimplify his case by making the struggle for petroleum explain every important development in the whole field of international politics.

AN AMERICAN visitor to the English industrial centres has written for the London *Economist* one of the ablest analyses of economic conditions in that country we have seen anywhere. He is obviously intimately familiar with English conditions—indeed, the fact that the leading financial paper in London gave space to his views is an indorsement in itself.

AS WE point out in 'The World Over,' the Labor Party's capture of London's municipal government is likely to expedite the growth of Fascism in Great Britain. The middle- and upper-class elements, to which Sir Oswald Mosley's Blackshirt movement appeals, now have reason to fear that Labor will capture a majority of seats in the House of Commons at the next general election and therefore have more reason than ever to accept as the only alternative the policy that Sir Oswald outlines in this issue.

ALTHOUGH translated from the French, our article on 'The End of Vienna' was written in German by an Austrian citizen. He advances a thesis very popular in France—to the effect that the Germans are a race of barbarous provincials but that the Viennese, like the Parisians, are civilized cosmopolites.

APROPOS of Antoine Zischka's leading article, Dr. Mautner's account of 'Holland in the Pacific' shows that the petroleum deposits in the Dutch East Indies have a great deal to do with Dutch-Japanese relations. And even apart from the fact that East Indian oil is a vital necessity for Japan, trade connections are being established between all the territories in the Pacific, and Japan is becoming the workshop for that whole area, just as Britain served as workshop for the world a century ago. This tendency, which we also dwell upon in 'The World Over,' goes far toward explaining the war danger in the Far East.

FRANZ HERCZEG'S short story, 'Yellow and White,' seemed to have so many political implications that we included it in our 'International Round-Up' rather than with the more literary portion of the magazine. It is the work of a Hungarian novelist of considerable prominence in Central Europe.

AGAIN we have the privilege of presenting an article by Bassett Jones, one of the leading engineers in the United States, who has lately set orthodox economists by their ears and gained the cordial approval of Stuart Chase and Morris Ernst for so doing. The essay in question was delivered before the Dutch Treat Club of New York

(*Continued on page 188*)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LIVING AGE

Founded by E. Littell

In 1844

April, 1934 *Volume 346, Number 4411*

The World Over

FOR THE PAST half-dozen years THE LIVING AGE has been regaling its readers with reports of impending trouble in Europe, and we have received more than a few letters begging us to give space to more cheerful points of view. But cheerful news from Europe has not been easy to come by since the War, and the events of the past few weeks justify the atmosphere of impending doom that our pages have often exhaled. The disturbing or exciting news we usually brought from Russia, Germany, and the Far East never caused much consternation, but our reports that something was rotten in the state of France aroused incredulity, and our emphasis on the fact that Austria was the weakest link in the chain forged at Versailles met with even less comprehension.

To-day, our prognosis that war threatens in the Far East and that Europe is in the throes of revolution does not arouse much disagreement: events have begun to move more swiftly, and their significance becomes increasingly clear. But when we devote five pages of our March issue and nine pages of this issue to prophecies of war between England and the United States, people are likely to shake their heads. The possibility exists, of course, that other difficulties at home or abroad may prevent the 'unthinkable' war between the two great English-speaking countries, but, if we look ten years ahead to the time when America's domestic oil supply begins to run low and England emerges in possession of all the petroleum reserves and in control of all the seaways of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

world, the thesis advanced by Antoine Zischka's leading article becomes more convincing than it is at the moment. Indeed, one need only consult one's daily paper to discover that on February 25 more British war vessels gathered in the West Indies than at any time since the World War. They included the two most powerful battleships afloat, and their manœuvres extended from the Caribbean to Gibraltar. Meanwhile, Washington is hurriedly building the American Navy up to full treaty strength.

IRKED BY REPORTS that the armament makers of Europe are chiefly responsible for the present danger of war, the steel plants of Sheffield, England, have taken steps to obscure their real activities. By lumping together the total output of all the factories in the city, many of which do not manufacture munitions at all, the Sheffield steel magnates estimate that only seven per cent of their industry is devoted to the munitions business. Furthermore, the plants that do make munitions have spread the work through many different departments so that there are fewer signs of increased activity in any single shop. At the same time, they guard all the exits and entrances night and day and have introduced a new system of numbering each order so that it is impossible for the workers to know its destination. A correspondent of the Laborite *Daily Herald* of London reports this statement made to him by an employee in one of the Sheffield works:—

> I am opposed to war or the manufacture of war weapons. From the Sheffield point of view—as a citizen of a distressed area—increased armament activity has got me back to work.
>
> If we are told shells on which we are working are practice shells we accept that statement—even when our technical knowledge might tell us they are nothing of the kind. Since the reorganization a new atmosphere has been created by spreading the work over various departments. It seems as though we are just working normally. There is much less overtime, but the spread of armament manufacture into one-time slack departments means more men employed, although we don't notice it.
>
> It is now impossible to judge the amount of shells or other armaments being manufactured, but they are being turned out in all sizes from the six-inch shell, which weighs 60 pounds, to the 16-inch, which weighs one ton.

THE LABOR PARTY'S capture of a majority of seats in the London County Council speaks volumes for the failure of the National Government and will give a tremendous impetus to the growing Fascist movement in Great Britain. As Lord Jessel, leader of the defeated Conservative forces, announced on the eve of the elections:—

> The capture of the local government of London by the Socialists would unquestionably have a bad effect in Europe and the world generally; it would be a heavy blow at the National Government.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This blow will not be taken lying down, and, if the National Government cannot rally a majority of the citizens to its support, the British upper and middle classes, whose interests it defends, will resort to some other method of asserting their will. Nearly a year ago we quoted the London *Economist* as saying that the property owners of Great Britain would resort to violence rather than submit to a programme of thoroughgoing Socialism such as a Labor government might adopt. The growth of Sir Oswald Mosley's following in recent months confirms this prediction, and now the mildly Conservative *Spectator* admits that 'it is idle to pretend that there is something in the air of our British politics that renders us immune from the infection of Fascism.' The *Spectator* does not believe that Mosley has much chance, nor does it assume that a third Labor government, even controlling a majority of votes in Parliament, would inconvenience the property holders of the country any more than the first two MacDonald cabinets did. What it anticipates is dictatorship, and, since the Labor Party's strategy relies on democratic methods, the first British dictator is not likely to represent the interests of the working class.

WHAT DISTINGUISHES the task of the Doumergue Cabinet in France from the task of the Poincaré Cabinet of 1926 is that Poincaré gathered a coalition to attack a single problem—inflation—whereas the Doumergue Cabinet faces half a dozen different problems and does not agree on how to handle any of them. The peasants and bondholders fear devaluation of the franc to-day just as they feared inflation in 1926, but the manufacturing interests, notably the Comité des Forges, would like to strengthen their competitive power on the world market by the same methods that England and the United States have used. Also, a reduction of the gold content of the franc might enable the Treasury to impound some of the gold it now possesses and apply the proceeds to reducing the national debt. The Royalists want to restore the Duc de Guise, and various Fascist groups are searching for a leader. The French Socialists, unlike the German Social Democrats and the British Laborites, have never collaborated with bourgeois parties and have formed united fronts with the Communists, notably in the recent rioting. But, above all, Paris is not France any more than New York is America, and the extremist elements, so strong in the capital, have no great following in the provinces, where the more moderate Radicals and Radical Socialists prevail. It is on this great provincial majority that the strength of the Doumergue Cabinet chiefly rests, but for the reasons already indicated it is not a united majority. Although essentially Republican, pacifistic, and anti-clerical, the French nation as a whole has come to distrust the politicians who nominally represent these

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sentiments, and the time may come when a Fascist movement can take advantage of this condition.

ONE YEAR OF HITLER finds Germany in much the same condition that one year of Roosevelt finds the United States. In both countries new political leaders have grown steadily in popularity, but the economic results of their policies remain dubious. Reduced working hours and increased government expenditures—notably on war preparations—have reduced unemployment in Germany as well as the United States. The large corporations have improved their financial position. At a time when the American automobile industry cannot fill its rush of orders, Germany reports that automobile production trebled in January, 1934, as compared with January, 1933. Three of the four outstanding German producers of coal, iron, and steel report a reduction of losses; the fourth group, Thyssen's Vereinigte Stahlwerke, which faced bankruptcy a year ago, has not been required to publish its balance sheet, perhaps by way of repayment for what the 'Man behind Hitler' did to aid the Nazis in years gone by. The Krupp firm employed 43,410 workers on September 30, 1933, an increase of 7,762 over the past year, and the Hoesch-Köln group, 20,290, an increase of 1,330. But in spite of these gains both firms paid out less wages during September, partly because of pay cuts and partly because the Government ordered them to hire more men for fewer hours. Yet crude steel production advanced to seven and a half million tons during 1933, an increase of nearly two million tons over the year before. Rationalization has surely played a part here, yet in other industries—glass and cement, for instance—the installation of further labor-saving machinery has been forbidden. Meanwhile, the dye trust reports increased sales during the final quarter of 1933, the textiles and rayon industries are improving, but the trade balance in January was unfavorable for the first time in years. Certainly, Hitler's political miracle has not yet produced an economic one.

LATE IN FEBRUARY, for the first time since Hitler came into power, the Italian press broke its rule of not criticizing German policy. The unfulfilled threat of the Nazis to break their truce with Dollfuss's pro-Italian Fascists on March 1 caused the *Lavoro Fascista* of Rome to comment:—

> No discussion about Austria's independence is possible. Italy has plainly and repeatedly given her opinion on this point, and we repeat it once more to the German critics who are trying to prevent the creation of conditions that would strengthen Austria as an independent state.

Since that time Mussolini has been making hay every minute that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dollfuss's sun continues to shine and is trying to establish a triple alliance and customs union with Austria and Hungary. But the fact that Italy, unlike Germany, cannot buy enough goods from Central Europe to give such a customs union any reason for existence makes Mussolini's scheme a doubtful one, and it is unlikely that German penetration of Austria and other parts of Central Europe can be delayed indefinitely. Either England or France might be able to put a spoke in Italy's wheel by aiding Dollfuss, but England is cautiously pursuing a pro-German policy, and France has too much on her hands at home. Mussolini must therefore choose between going it alone, as best he can, or coming to some understanding with Hitler.

THE RECORD GRAIN CROP that Russia harvested in 1933 has not yet solved the food problem in the Soviet Union, some parts of which still have to use bread cards. For the peasants have not thrown all their grain on the open market, and the State, which requisitions half the produce of the farms, carefully abstained from any use of force in making its collections. In order to tempt the peasants to surrender their supplies the Government arranged a magnificent exhibit of consumers' goods at the Seventeenth Party Congress and offered to exchange these goods directly for the peasants' grain. Meanwhile, no opposition has made itself heard, partly because of the record harvest and Litvinov's successful foreign policy, but chiefly because of the war danger in the Far East, which lays any critic of the present régime open to the charge of treason. But the exiled Social Democrats have no such inhibitions, and their Paris mouthpiece, *Sozialisticheski Vestnik*, has commented as follows on the recent All-Union Communist Party Congress:—

> With ten clever secretaries who know how to 'comb' statistics, do you think it is hard to draw up a table that 'proves' the constant growth of prosperity and the raising of the standard of living among the masses of workers? And if the Congress is indeed 'well organized' no one will point out that a 53 per cent increase in wages along with a 100 per cent rise in wholesale prices and a tenfold rise in the open market does not point to improvement in the living conditions of the masses.

The 'open market,' however, does not refer to the government shops in which most workers purchase their supplies at a fraction of the 'open-market' price.

BECAUSE JAPANESE EXPORTS are usually measured in a currency that grows worth less and less in terms of goods, the 'Yellow Trade Menace' has been somewhat exaggerated. For instance, Japanese exports of raw silk rose 22.6 per cent in value between 1932 and 1933, but the volume declined 11.5 per cent. Exports of rubber boots and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shoes have remained almost constant since 1931, and exports of spinning, weaving, and electrical machinery fell sharply between 1931 and 1932 and did not return to the 1931 level last year. But these items are relatively unimportant. Japan exported a larger volume of cotton textiles in 1933 than England did, and exports of tinned and bottled comestibles have more than doubled in volume since 1931. Rayon exports have been multiplied several times over, and exports of finished silk have increased steadily since 1931. Not only are Japanese exports increasing,—though less rapidly than some reports indicate,—different countries are taking varying amounts of Japanese goods. Our article, 'Holland in the Pacific,' shows that Japanese trade with the Dutch East Indies is growing very rapidly. But India is taking fewer goods from Japan, and the high American tariff has hurt the Japanese brush industry. What would appear to be happening is that Japan is beginning to occupy the same relationship toward most of the Far Eastern countries that England did toward the world at large during the nineteenth century.

WITH A POPULATION that is 75 per cent agricultural and with only three-tenths of one per cent of its people employed in industry, China stands or falls with its farmers. And according to figures just made public in the Government's official Year Book for 1933, the lot of the Chinese peasant grows worse from year to year. The big landlords, comprising 9 per cent of the population, own 43 per cent of the land, more than half the peasants own no land at all, and 44 per cent of the population own 6 per cent of the land. With this unequal distribution of land goes an unbelievably low standard of living—the average farm family has 5.62 members and an average annual income of $150, or $26.60 per capita. Under these conditions only 23.4 per cent of the Chinese peasants are able to live without incurring debts, on which the interest charges sometimes run as high as 100 per cent a year—2.7 per cent a month being normal. Rents are equally exorbitant, averaging 51 per cent of the returns from the land and tending upward. What with floods wiping out areas the size of New York State and armies giving twice as many jobs as industry provides, rural China has been utterly ruined. Foreign grain, produced more efficiently, undersells the Chinese product, and the farmers turn bandit or Communist, the latter course having proved the more attractive. In Kiangsi, where a Soviet Republic has been established, the Communists increased their store of guns from 1,000 to 30,000 in a single year, and, after they had fought off an eight-month campaign of repression, they had 40,000 more. Meanwhile, the Nanking Government, instead of trying to improve the conditions that encourage Communism, devotes most of its energies to an 'Anti-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Red' campaign. According to the *Peking World Daily News*, when the Government appropriated $2,188,000 for a 'war-region recovery loan,' all but $50,000 was spent on warfare against the Communists.

BRITISH NEWS SOURCES have found it convenient to ignore several startling developments that are transforming the life of Australia and changing the relationship of that entire continent to the troubled area of the Pacific. While work goes forward at increasing speed on the Singapore naval base, an Australian delegation under the leadership of Foreign and Trade Secretary Chatham has been visiting China, the Dutch East Indies, and Japan to promote 'neighborly relationships.' For Australia is becoming less and less a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and more and more an integral part of the new economic empire that Japan is consolidating in the Pacific. Having supported England during the War in the hope of spreading white supremacy, the Australians felt that they had been let down when Japan was given mandates to a number of islands in the Pacific. And the hopes that Australia placed in the League of Nations proved equally disappointing. While the Australian army and navy were being reduced in the belief that peace had been securely established, Japan was spending more and more money on armaments and finally quit the League after the Manchurian expedition.

But it is the economic, not the military, power of Japan that is conquering Australia at the moment. In 1932–33 Japan sold five times as much goods to Australia as she did the year before the Great War and bought six times as many Australian products. Neither British nor Australian industry can compete against Japanese, which undersells all comers by 50 per cent, and, because Japan is buying more and more raw materials from Australia, quotas and tariffs would merely lead to fatal reprisals. Thus, Australia is being reduced to a colonial status and coming to occupy the same position toward Japan that Latin America does toward North America.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The author of a book on oil, reviewed in our last issue, describes on the basis of first-hand knowledge an Anglo-American rivalry that may breed war.

OIL *and* War

By ANTOINE ZISCHKA

Translated from the *Crapouillot* Paris Topical Monthly

FIFTY years ago petroleum was an old ladies' remedy for rheumatism. To-day it has become the omnipotent commodity that gives life to automobiles, tanks, navies, bombing planes. Heavy petroleum means naval empire; light gasoline means empire of the air; gasoline and kerosene mean land empire. World empire means the incredible financial power of 470 billion francs, the estimated value of this raw material that is much more important than coal or any of the earth's treasures.

Now petroleum is very unevenly divided. Almost all of it is in the hands of three nations—Russia, America, and the British Empire. Three big groups control all the deposits—the Rockefeller-Teagle group of Standard Oil, Deterding's Royal Dutch-Shell group, and the Soviet's Grand Russian Petroleum Trust.

The Americans have long regarded their wells as inexhaustible. Eager for immediate profit and careless of future generations, they provide 76 per cent of world production. The English, being more farsighted, are not the biggest producers, but they control all reserves. Deterding's trust extracts 43 per cent of its products from American soil in order to protect its deposits elsewhere, and Walter Teagle, the successor of Rockefeller as president of Standard Oil, was quite right when he accused the English of deliberately draining the United States of its petroleum supply.

The geological division of the United States Department of the Interior and two dozen specialists of universal standing agree that between 1940 and 1950 there will be no more petroleum in American soil. All the specialists also agree that the reserves of the English will not be exhausted for two hundred years, that is, about 2150. Hence the American oil interests grow more and more embittered.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At the moment, many machines are unemployed. There is overproduction of petroleum, but when the machines, the gods of our time, begin to move again the struggle for petroleum deposits will become more intense. It will turn into open and very probably bloody struggle. 'While we were spending our time giving lessons in altruism to the universe,' said President Harding, 'Great Britain was taking possession of the petroleum wealth of the world, wealth that is the key to world economic dominion.' To-day these words are not menacing, but how about to-morrow? During the last week of December four different politicians, journalists, writers, and industrialists gave the date of the next war as 1940. They all had different reasons, but they were well-founded. 1940 is the year when American petroleum becomes exhausted. Is the nightmare of a war for petroleum to be added to the spectres of war in the Pacific and in Europe?

Obviously, there is no lack of reasons for a new war. For every pretext that existed in 1914, three pretexts exist in 1934 that are tending to release a more terrible, ferocious, and useless butchery than the last one. Laws are made about unemployment. People write and talk a great deal about peace. Diplomats rush about, and subsidies are voted to various industries, but we completely ignore whether the Franco-German conversations are conducted by François Poncet in his capacity as French Ambassador or as representative of the Comité des Forges, whether the French representative to the Disarmament Conference, and hence the spokesman for the country's pacifistic policy, speaks in the name of Charles Dumont, the delegate, or in the name of Charles Dumont, president of the Banque Franco-Japonaise, administrator of the Association Nationale d'Expansion Economique that lent a billion francs to Manchukuo, and representative of the House of Mitsui and the Schneider-Creusot group.

We discuss the Sino-Japanese war without mentioning that it is a war of economic expansion in behalf of the interests of the Mitsui family, just as the Boer War was waged in the interests of Cecil Rhodes, just as Sudan had to be conquered in order to satisfy the cotton hunger of the Lancashire magnates' Cottongrowing Association. To those who believe in the force of the spirit or in any ideal, facts are discouraging. I have been traveling all over the world, seeking for an issue from the chaos in which we are plunged, trying to illuminate and unveil certain connections, and I have come to the conclusion that all the bloody conflicts of our epoch, all the secret wars are caused by the same small number of individuals, and I have also concluded that these conflicts are the apparent image, the popular version, of a struggle for certain raw materials—grain, cotton, iron, oil—above all, oil.

England conquered South Africa for its coal, the Sudan for its cotton, but never did a government so boldly lift the mask as the English did in 1914 when Winston Churchill told the House of Commons that the British Admiralty was one of the biggest petroleum firms in the world and that 56 per cent of the capital of the Anglo-Persian belonged to the Intelligence Service and to the British Navy. Never have governments associated themselves so openly with the interests

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of raw-material magnates as in the case of oil.

In Europe we are bored by the far away wars in Latin America. We forget that they are not fought to establish one general or another, a certain king or a certain president, but that they are a battle of titans, a secret struggle between the United States and England, a subterranean conflict for hegemony that may at any moment lead to open, bloody, universal war.

On June 28, 1902, France signed the Spooner Act abandoning the Panama Canal to America. For two hundred million francs France handed over to the United States a billion francs' worth of construction, material, shares, concessions, land, and plans, and, with all this, the key to the Pacific. In ten years the Americans had excavated three hundred million cubic metres. They had spent over a billion dollars. They had organized a revolution in Colombia and seized for themselves a slice of the republic around the Canal Zone. On September 20, 1914, the Panama Canal was opened.

No more thirteen-thousand-mile detours before the American dreadnoughts could arrive in the Pacific as they had in 1898—too late for a battle. Already America regarded herself as the first naval power in the world, but she was rejoicing too soon. Suddenly Washington perceived that all the big oil reserves near the Canal, all the strategic points in the Caribbean were in English hands. England took care that the old hatred of the Colombians did not die. She saw to it that the nations of South America hated the Yankees and their increasingly brutal imperialism.

France conceived of the Panama Canal. Louis-Philippe sent Carella to study the project. America built the Canal. England is preparing to control it sooner or later by means of her petroleum.

Already the Elliott Alves group, the department of Royal Shell that exploits all the oil fields about the Caribbean, has surrounded the Canal with two ranks of reservoirs and refineries. It sells English petroleum to all the ships going to the Pacific from the Atlantic. Deterding has his British-controlled oil fields at Trinidad, in Ecuador, everywhere in South America where there is petroleum. They produced only about four thousand tons a week in Ecuador and a little more in Trinidad in 1933, but they are guarding the ground. The respective governments do not levy taxes or collect any share of the profits from their petroleum reserves. Nevertheless, they can not surrender them to the Americans.

What good does it do the American Secret Service to spend thousands of dollars counteracting the activity of innumerable spies, most of them Japanese and English, who live in the Canal Zone, Balboa, Panama, and Colon, disguised as honest business men? What is the use of the strict regulations forcing the ships to put out their fires and be towed through the Canal by electric tractors that prevent them from engaging in any independent movement? Why is it that an American pilot and American mechanics assure the passage through the locks? Why is a chain stretched in front of each sluice to resist any shock, any sudden forward movement of a boat, such as occurred in May, 1926, and again in 1929 in the third Gatun lock, near Colon? In both years the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

boats were old oil tankers; the two accidents occurred in exactly the same way. The cables broke when the naphtha in the stern hold suddenly poured into the front hold, which 'happened' to be empty. The lurch of the boat suddenly drove it forward.

In 1926, the steel chain in front of the sluice cut into the bow of an English tanker like a knife. In 1929, it was a Dutch tanker, but it did not lurch forward sharply enough to break the cables attached to the electric tractors on shore. It did not even reach the chain. Both cases were listed as 'accidents,'—nothing more,—but Washington spent more money, and since then secret agents accompany all tankers passing through the Panama Canal. Nobody doubts that these two incidents were arranged by people who had an interest in destroying the Canal.

Jacques Deval wrote a love story about one of these episodes, but unfortunately for the Americans there is nothing romantic about it. The attempts that have been made to find some sure way of destroying the Panama Canal are of the most brutal reality. What is worse, England does not even need to resort to such far-sighted methods. She has bases in the Caribbean Sea, in Colombia and Venezuela. Her petroleum policy in the West Indies is devoted to this one end—to get into her own hands the levers that control the Panama Canal from the Atlantic side.

II

When the Panama Canal was finished, the Americans thought that they had encircled all of Central America and held the Pacific firmly in hand. They rejoiced too soon. Consider, for instance, the little Republic of Costa Rica, the neighbor of Panama. Enormous oil deposits have been found there, and the oil interests arrange revolutions to gain concessions in these fields. One day a certain Tinoco, head of a band of brigands, proclaimed himself president of the Republic. Quite by chance he possessed magnificent arms provided by Vickers, and again quite by chance one of his first official acts was to give enormous concessions to Sir Henri Deterding's British oil fields. Standard Oil was in a rage. Washington lost patience. Another Costa Rican patriot was equipped with American machine guns and was given an ample supply of dollars and cartridges. President Tinoco was expelled. The new government annulled the concessions granted to the English the day after its victory. The English chargé d'affaires protested. They laughed in his face.

Then, London dispatched a cruiser, which anchored opposite Costa Rica, and Deterding's agents distributed enough money to convince the leaders of Panama that a war against the neighboring republic of Costa Rica was a national matter of first importance. This was in 1921. War was declared. A corps of Panama invaders crossed the frontier. The first day 430 men were killed. The next day, 732. The natives, being good patriots, defended their country.

Washington declared itself in favor of Costa Rica. It supported this declaration by informing the government of Panama that the Canal Zone might be enlarged if hostilities did not cease. Washington supported this declaration by sending marines, muni-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions, and machine guns. The adventure turned out badly for Deterding and England. The Panama army was pursued, defeated, and annihilated. Costa Rica took a slice of territory from the Republic of Panama. America imposed arbitration, and the American arbitrator, Mr. White, decided in favor of Costa Rica.

On August 26, 1921, a detachment of American sailors marched side by side with Costa Rican troops and took possession of the conquered regions. Washington was showing London that it was ready for open conflict. On August 28, 1921, Sir Henri Deterding had a conference with the British Admiralty that lasted more than three hours. On August 29, there was a conversation between Admiral Lord Fisher, Winston Churchill, and a director of Royal Dutch. The world knew nothing about it, but feverish activity reigned in Washington and London. From hour to hour the danger increased, but in neither country did the people have any suspicions. In the summer of 1921, the situation between America and England was terribly tense.

In 1914, the murder at Sarajevo and the Austrian ultimatum started the World War. In 1921, there was danger of armed conflict between England and America because of the incidents in Costa Rica. Two slender pretexts, but it was not because the events in Costa Rica were unimportant that a new war did not occur in 1921. The situation between Deterding and Rockefeller was tense enough to throw the two nations into open conflict, but other forces intervened. It was decided to summon a conference at Washington. Naval limitation was the official purpose, but the real debate was the partition of the world's petroleum reserves.

Little has been said about what went on behind the scenes. But close investigation of the list of delegates reveals that all the oil magnates had sent their best men. In 1921, America and England shared the world as friends only because three years seemed too short a time after the Armistice to begin a new butchery. But it was a forced peace, not a solid one, and it lasted only until 1927.

The English continued to procure oil fields around the Panama Canal and to establish bases that might annihilate the colossal work of the Americans. The Costa Rican incidents had shown the Americans how weak their position was. What if Panama had been victorious instead of Costa Rica?

III

In 1927, Deterding declared war on the Russians. He was on the point of creating a world blockade against Soviet petroleum. What if he succeeded? America wildly allied itself to Moscow and declared a price-cutting war on English petroleum. And since it was not certain that the conflict would remain economic, hasty efforts were made to fortify American control in South America and the Pacific.

Washington sent a corps of American army engineers to Nicaragua to draw up plans for a second canal, which would be much nearer to American bases, much more modern, and safer than the Panama Canal. The Americans returned two years later with a detailed, completed study all ready to put through. The Nicaraguan Canal was to extend from the Atlantic Ocean, following the San

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Juan River and Lake Nicaragua. The cost was estimated at 722 million dollars.

This was in 1927. No sooner had the project been drawn up than trouble broke out in Nicaragua, and Coolidge suddenly had more enemies in that little country than the other American governments had had for years. Colonel Stimson, the man who later became Secretary of State under Hoover, was sent to Nicaragua. He did not beat about the bush. He mobilized all the military and naval forces of the United States to drive out the rebels, to elect a pro-petroleum pro-American president. Thus he became the man whose name was, and still is, more odious than any other throughout Latin America, for Deterding was on the job: his propaganda chief in South America made Sandino, the Nicaraguan insurgent, a prophet, a hero, and a symbol.

In America, Deterding inspired press campaigns that kept asking the question, 'What are our troops doing in Nicaragua for so long a time?' And the English pointed out that it would take years to find any American property to protect. With a thousand men General Augusto Sandino fought the American troops. He held up well against the best-organized army in the world, against airplanes and marines. He lasted more than three years without a single defeat. When he finally had to seek refuge in Mexico, he remained one of the most powerful enemies of Washington, organizing uprisings everywhere and destroying American oil interests wherever he could.

Sandino is possibly an idealist, but he is an idealist cleverly manipulated by the English who chose him chiefly as an idol, as a symbolic personality perfectly adapted to anti-American propaganda. They could certainly have found a crueler, stronger general, more skillful at killing American soldiers, but nobody else inspired so much sympathy in the republics of Latin America.

I talked with Sandino at Merida in 1931 during his exile. He possesses quite a different kind of charm from what we usually think of in connection with a South American insurgent. A thin little man, he greeted me with an amiable '*Buenos días*.' He had no physical peculiarity and seemed almost banal and very reserved. He was dressed in a black suit with nothing unusual except a little leather money bag, which he wore like a bandoleer under his shirt as well as a cartridge case in place of a belt. The General is gauche, timid, and very calm. His voice is not loud and he does n't say anything very important. In spite of all this, he is the idol of a whole continent and symbolizes the struggle against the modern invader, the barbarous Yankee with his implacable laws and unromantic genius. By directing all hatred against the Americans he facilitated the task of the English who are always more psychological, more subtle, less savage than the agents of the United States. General Sandino was one of the best ideas the British Intelligence Service and Deterding ever had.

Nevertheless, everything was not entirely satisfactory to the English. During the world crisis, Deterding and his friends lost heavily. In the beginning of 1932, England really needed money, and there was talk of a former American project to establish a strong base on the eastern coast of South

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

America. 'Washington wants to buy British Guiana, and London is not so violently opposed to that idea as it might be,' I was told by a Dutchman who controls a large part of the petroleum business in South America. 'Georgetown is already almost completely Americanized, and, if the Yankees succeed in gaining a real foothold on the eastern coast because of Guiana after having dominated the western coast of Latin America because of the Panama Canal and because of their considerable capital investments in Colombia and Bolivia, a great part of English influence in the "continent of the future" is done for.'

This conversation happened to occur in front of a splendid map of the world. The air lines were indicated on it, and one could see the American lines passing from Florida to Panama and on to Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. These lines were very curious when observed closely, for they followed almost exactly the same route along which South American history began. It is the route that Christopher Columbus, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, and Pizarro all followed, the route to gold, the route that the Spanish conquistadors took years ago, and it is now the route of the oil magnates and the air lines of North America.

It was by way of the West Indies and Panama that the conquerors arrived centuries ago; they are coming by the same route to-day. In the past men wore cuirasses; to-day they are equipped with banking credits.

The road to gold was a cruel one and full of adventure, and it has not changed. American imperialism is the aggressor. English interests are on the defensive. But even if British Guiana does become American, Deterding will always have a strong position in Venezuela. And the battle will continue. A victory for America; then a victory for England. Meanwhile the countries for which the titans are contesting will return to their original barbarism.

IV

If all the great fortunes of the world were distributed, the standard of living would not be raised more than ten per cent, and that would not do much good. Private fortunes are not the cause of famines and the misery of nations. It is the destructive power that great wealth gives to a Deterding or a Rockefeller that is responsible for the present disaster. The masters of the world have the power to create, to drain the seas, to irrigate the deserts, to change the climates and the face of the whole world, and they use it to promote their personal intrigues. They do not follow the impulse of their heads but of their hearts: that is when real madness begins and the danger of war becomes most serious.

Sir Henri Deterding is a typical magnate of this sort. His weak point is Russia. His hatred of the Soviets makes him forget all caution. To anyone who knows the mentality of the oil magnates, it seems quite natural that he was one of the most powerful instigators of counter-revolutionary armies and that he financed the wars waged by the White generals against the Soviets from 1918 to 1921. Royal Dutch had bought petroleum shares from most of the Russian émigrés. It had purchased holdings from Nobel in Baku and the Caucasus, holdings that were valued at 30 million rubles in 1879, that paid a dividend of 26 per cent in 1914, and that used to belong

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to one of the biggest firms in Russia. Deterding had bought up the interests of the English companies that had worked in Baku before the War—the Schibaev Company and the Baku Russian Company, as well as several less important concerns. In 1910, the combined value of all these came to 85 million rubles. Deterding had also bought the petroleum interests at Grozny and the Maikop region at a low price. In May, 1920, he concluded an agreement with the Atzaturov brothers, who were exiled in Paris, and thus obtained one hundred hectares of the richest oil lands in Russia.

In spite of the civil war, Deterding planned to build a pipe line from Grozny to Novorossiisk and purchased the necessary shares from other Russian emigrants. The Anglo-Caucasian Oil Company was founded, and it was to exploit its territory like the Anglo-Persian. Novorossiisk alone would produce a million and a half tons a year. One only had to dispatch White armies into Georgia, Caucasia, and all through the Russian oil fields.

Deterding's intervention through private armies was easy enough to understand. But in wishing to become master of Russian petroleum—although he must have known that force would be of no use against the Soviets and that America, France, and Italy would never support the interests of England—he made an error that was heavy with consequences. He threw Russia into the arms of the Americans. Sentimentality caused Deterding to detest the Soviets too much, for he had married as his second wife Lydia Pavlovna, daughter of a White Russian general. That is why he is always fighting, and with a minimum of precaution, against the Soviets.

When nobody could doubt the failure of the armies of Denikin and of all the other White generals, Deterding tried other means. Quantities of forged chervontsi and Russian bank notes suddenly appeared. The Soviets scented danger. They set to work in every direction. Russia had become the friend of Germany at Rapallo. The German police therefore gave efficient aid in detecting the forgers, some of whom were arrested in Berlin, but not all.

A lawyer, Dr. George Bell, a naturalized German of Scotch birth, was gravely compromised in this forging affair, but he got out of it very skillfully. Although he was the head of the enterprise, or rather because of his responsibility, he remained in Germany and became Deterding's most important agent in a new manœuvre against the Soviets. Dr. George Bell became Deterding's confidential agent in the Brown House in Munich. It was through the hands of Bell that enormous sums of money flowed from Deterding and others as gifts to the National-Socialist Party when the Hitler movement was being born. These funds kept on flowing until it became clear that the Hitler movement was not so dangerous to the Russians as Deterding had hoped, until Hitler became too powerful and proud to take orders from any foreigner. But anyone who feels that this was a vague hope and not really worth much money need only turn to Germany's new bible, Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

Having spoken at length of an alliance between England and Germany as the most important element in the future foreign policy of the Reich, Hitler says on page 154, 'If

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Germany wanted to conquer new territories in Europe she could do so only at the expense of Russia. It would be necessary for the New Reich to follow again the path of the old order of Teutonic knights in order to give soil to the German plow by the German sword and peace to the nation. Only with England's aid could the new German migration occur. We would have no less right to embark on it than our ancestors did. Yet none of our pacifists refuse to eat bread from East Prussia although the first plow used to be called a sword.'

In many other pages Hitler speaks of this conquest of Russia and even more often of close alliance with England. To have the author of these proclamations chief of the German State instead of the signers of the Rapallo Treaty seemed very interesting to Deterding. He therefore gave money to the Hitlerites, all that his agent Bell asked for, at least until the beginning of 1932. But at this point the English oil magnates became a little worried about Hitler's socialist tendencies. A year before Hitler became master of Germany Deterding began to have doubts about his ally. But it was too late. The Nazis were then strong enough to refuse English money.

Dr. Bell's position became precarious, he was a dangerous man. On April 8, 1932, a secret National-Socialist organization like the G. P. U. and known as the National-Socialist Cheka was discovered in Munich. This discovery was officially confirmed on the first of April by the Munich police who arrested a very well-known industrialist of that city. This man had proposed to eleven members of the National-Socialist Party that they rid the world of certain embarrassing Party leaders and he had offered them money. Five more arrests followed. In well-informed quarters the names of the Hitlerite leaders wanted by the police circulated by word of mouth. Dr. Bell's name was among them. Certain searches began, and it was discovered that the Dr. Bell who had fled to Berlin to escape the justice of the Nazi Cheka was the same man who had played an important rôle in the Berlin affair of the anti-Bolshevist Georgians and the forgers.

I saw Dr. Bell in Berlin in the summer of 1932. He wanted to flee to England, but secret agents who are caught red-handed are always let down by their masters. Since it had become known that this great friend of Hitler and of Count Dumoulin and Colonel Roehm, leaders of the Hitler espionage, was a Deterding agent, he fell into discredit with the Nazis, and Deterding had no more use for him either. Then Dr. Bell committed a grave error. He talked. He hoped to get support by revealing facts that were as dangerous to Deterding as to the Nazis. He even wrote letters. By signing these interesting documents he was signing his own death sentence. On April 3, 1933, the Nazi leaders executed the 'traitor Bell.'

In giving a few incomplete pictures it has been necessary to speak of whole continents, of millions of men, of facts that are directly or indirectly related to the life and well-being of us all. If the secret war for oil was terrible in the oil fields, how much more terrible the struggle will be a few years hence when the American petroleum reserves become exhausted and England will have them all.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here are five articles from four quarters. An American visitor questions Britain's recovery; Sir Oswald Mosley outlines his policy; a Viennese mourns for Vienna; and Japanese imperialism is depicted in both fact and fiction.

International ROUND-UP

An International Symposium

I. Revival in England?

By an American Observer

From the *Economist*, London Financial Weekly

[*The following article is by an American correspondent resident in England, who has recently been engaged in studying conditions in the Midlands and the North of England.*—Editor, '*Economist.*']

England's industries are showing unmistakable signs of resilience after a depression that, in many parts of the country, has lasted not four but fourteen years. A visitor to the great industrial centres of the Midlands and the North will find the outward evidences of recovery overwhelming. Not only have more than half a million unemployed marched back to work since last spring, but factory chimneys are smoking from the Clyde to the Channel, and in many industrial towns the roar of machinery is louder and more confident than at almost any time since the War. Along the road from Manchester to Leeds the textile mills and engineering works are lighted long after dark; a few years ago many of them were all but lifeless. Steel mills in Sheffield are working at full blast; orders for hand tools, automobile steel, and partly manufactured basic steel are pouring in so rapidly that a few weeks ago some of the manufacturers were experiencing difficulty in coping with them. In the West Riding

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Yorkshire the wool-textile industry is rubbing its eyes incredulously in the midst of something like a boom, following a spectacular rise in prices during the past year. Wage reductions are being restored in many trades, industrial profits are mounting for the first time since 1928, and new enterprise is once again stirring into activity.

Unpleasant doubts and fears are nevertheless at work in the minds of manufacturers, municipal officials, and trade-union leaders throughout the industrial areas. Behind the confidence that anyone can feel and see and hear in the North, there lurks an uneasy realization that the recovery cannot go very far until trade barriers of all kinds begin to come down abroad. A careful study of the industrial areas shows clearly that the present revival is confined to the home market. It is not yet even a real revival in purchasing power, except in so far as several hundred thousand persons have gone off the unemployment rolls and have been once more enabled to buy more than the barest necessities of life. In recent weeks there has been a modest revival in retail trade, notably an increased demand for clothing; but probably nine-tenths of the gain in the past six months has been due to the British tariff, which is effectively shutting foreign goods out of the home market.

Almost every industry is feeling some of the illusory benefits that the tariff brings. In Sheffield it is razor blades, once virtually a monopoly of the United States, that are being turned out by the million and sold in British shops; or else it is cheap cutlery, which once came from Germany or France, but which is now being made at home at prices that British housewives can afford to pay. In the Manchester area it is automobile tires; in Leicester it is woolens for women's wear, which formerly came from France. Nearer London, along the Great West Road, there is a whole cluster of new factories busily making toothpaste and shaving-cream, tinned goods, and novelties that once poured into England from abroad. A typical example may be found in a flourishing little factory in Birmingham, which makes small kitchen utensils needed in every household. Before the tariff these goods came from Germany and America, and the factory dawdled along with 200 hands; now it is working 300 men and girls full time and building an addition to its plant as well.

One would suppose that tariff duties that produce such results would be welcomed as manna from Heaven, but it is not so. The manufacturers in the North realize only too clearly that prosperity cannot be built upon the home market alone. Even in the strongholds of protectionism many industrialists say—whether they mean it or not—that they would cheerfully surrender some of their present tariff advantages at home if only they could obtain wider markets abroad. In Lancashire the need for export markets is so desperate that further depreciation of the pound is being demanded in many quarters; and even in Birmingham there is no real confidence in a revival that is throttled from the start by nationalistic trade barriers everywhere.

Whatever satisfaction the North may feel over its recovery is damped, also, by the knowledge that there are hundreds of thousands of unemployed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who never can hope to return to their normal jobs. The existence of this mass of chronic unemployment is the skeleton at the feast, and its grim presence is felt not only in the coal-mining valleys of South Wales but in almost every industrial centre. Manchester, ravaged by the shrinkage of Lancashire's export trade, reports about 66,000 unemployed, and conservative labor leaders say that about one-tenth of the city's inhabitants are living almost 'down to the bone.' Sheffield, which is experiencing a spectacular revival in trade, still has not only 40,000 registered unemployed, but 56,000 persons who have been thrown on to the public assistance rolls. Even Birmingham, which has never known as hard times as its northern neighbors, still has over 30,000 receiving unemployment benefit and more than 8,000 families dependent solely on public charity.

That such conditions should exist at a time when many plants are working overtime is the plainest possible proof of a serious and perhaps permanent surplus of labor. Occupational centres and the like are only palliatives; thoughtful trade-union leaders are beginning to demand some method of spreading what work there is. They are not interested in the dictatorial dreams of Sir Stafford Cripps and the intellectual leaders of their party. Labor in the North cares less for higher wages, or the nationalization of banks, or the abolition of the House of Lords than for the raising of the school-leaving age and the introduction of shorter hours in industry. The example of the N. R. A. codes in the United States has made a deep impression, and it would not be surprising if, at the next general election, there were to be a demand for a similar system here.

Those who are fortunate enough to be in employment to-day are far from discontented. Even without a New Deal, the average British wage-earner does not feel that he has been forgotten, either in the long years of depression or in the recovery of the past few months. Not only have most municipalities and many big employers restored wage cuts, but bonuses are being paid for overtime, which the employers refused even to contemplate eighteen or twelve months ago. If the worker in the Midlands and the North pities anyone, it is first the 'unemployables' at home and then the workers in other countries who have no such system of unemployment insurance, health insurance, or old-age pensions as he has had in England almost as long as he can remember. When the wage-earner here looks at the plight of American labor, without any insurance system, he vows that he would not trade his British security for any 'American wage,' no matter how high. The experience of the last few years and the terrors of the crisis in other countries have deepened his devotion to unemployment insurance in spite of the Means Test and the undoubted hardships that it has brought in its train.

II

One comes away from the North with the impression that there is little justification, in the long run, for the cheerfulness that is spreading over the country. The great export industries have been wrecked in the sea of economic nationalism, and the motto of the industrialists to-day is '*sauve qui*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peut.' Even if international trade is allowed to revive to some extent, it is hardly conceivable that this country will ever again have the great share in it that once was hers. The spread of industrialism into Asia and the development of economic self-sufficiency in almost every country have all but shattered the foundations upon which England's industries were built and developed. If one assumes that economic nationalism has come to stay it would seem that this country will have three great tasks to perform: first, to supply 45,000,000 consumers with every kind of manufactured product they can use and with as many raw materials as possible; second, to obtain by trade agreements a few dependable export markets in the Empire and in the countries linked to the United Kingdom by economic ties; and, finally, to sell high-grade specialized goods abroad. Even now this country is doing a considerable trade in goods that her craftsmen can produce better than anyone else in the world. Her fine woolen goods, her best pottery and cutlery have been able to jump most tariff walls with little trouble. Sheffield has kept a surprisingly firm grip on the world's trade in stainless steel, which was a Sheffield invention and which seems able to surmount tariff walls. So it should be in other trades, no matter how exclusive the economic systems of other countries may be. But the great export industries will be forced to limp along producing only half, or even less, of their capacity.

It used to be said that rationalization would cure England's ills; but after seeing industrial conditions in the North one is not so sure. So much rationalizing and reorganizing needs to be achieved that the terrors of increased unemployment are bound to offset the gains in efficiency if the process is seriously attempted. In a world of closed economic boundaries does it make much difference in the long run whether England's factories are modernized or not? Rationalization will hardly enable most British goods to push their way through foreign tariffs and can never bring labor costs down to the Japanese level, while a good stiff tariff around the home market can at least ensure a minimum of business even for the export industries. Perhaps it is a vague awareness of the future and all the heartbreak it may hold for England that is driving her manufacturers to concentrate so furiously on the home market now.

II. Our Policy

By Sir Oswald Mosley

From the *Saturday Review*, London Conservative Weekly

THE watchword of the Blackshirts is 'Britain First.' We claim to be the only organized movement in the country that has a right to bear that proud motto. For Blackshirts alone call a halt to national surrender at home and abroad. In every sphere the record of this National Government, which is supported by the Conservative Party, is a record of flight and surrender. Those Conservatives who disagree with that policy have not yet

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had the courage effectively to challenge it. They content themselves with moving minor amendments at party conferences to a policy that is fundamentally wrong. For instance, in the case of India, all parties accept the basis of the White-Paper policy. Some Conservatives suggest amendments and advise going slow in the rush to scuttle.

II

But the Blackshirts alone challenge the whole policy of surrender and substitute a different conception of British Government. We declare that it is not only the right but the duty of Britain to remain in India. It is our right to remain there because modern India owes everything to British rule. It is our duty to remain there because the withdrawal of British authority would result in nothing less than the collapse of Indian civilization.

It is time, in fact, that Britain ceased to apologize and began again to govern. It is time that we ceased to argue with lawyers and turned our attention to the economic and technical task that so urgently demands attention in India. Above all, we should renounce the foolish dream of foisting on India the old parliamentary institutions of the West at the very moment when every advanced country in Europe begins to discard them. They were never suited to Indian life, and it is the height of folly to impose them at a time when they are breaking down in every country that still adheres to them. This, indeed, is a crime which might give the Indian people serious cause for complaint against us. Yet every old party of the State is united behind this idea. Even die-hard Conservatives now support the imposition of Parliamentary ideas in India. They only differ on questions of speed and degree.

Blackshirts alone challenge the whole policy. We stand for strong British Government to maintain law and order and to achieve economic progress combined with a system to secure Indian coöperation and representation, which rests on the traditional basis of Indian life—the village Panchayat.

The function of modern Conservatism is merely to fit a weak brake on the run-away machine of Liberal-Socialist ideas. Blackshirt policy scraps the whole machine and substitutes a new engine of modern design, which yet accords with every great tradition of British history and embodies the patriotic principles of 'Britain first.' In all matters affecting the life and well-being of the Empire the same tendencies reveal themselves.

Conservatism was driven at length to applying a policy of protection to save the State from imminent collapse. It contents itself with a few small taxes and the bulk of the foreign goods still enter to undercut our industries with cheap competition.

It is the determination of Blackshirts to exclude foreign goods that can be manufactured here. In the problem of agriculture alone we could nearly double our production if foreign goods were excluded. Why should beef from the Argentine ruin British agriculture and drive men from the land? The answer is that the great financial interests of the City of London have lent money to the Argentine. They draw interest on those loans from the sale of Argentine beef in this country. If Conservatism excluded this beef they would jeopardize the interest of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the City. Every time the Conservative Party puts the interest of international finance before the welfare of the British producer.

Long ago they ceased to be a party of the countryside and became a party of the City. It is this subservience to the great alien interests that has driven thousands of patriotic Englishmen to the Labor Party, who are now being redeemed for England by Fascism. It is our aim to build a Britain as far as possible self-contained and an Empire entirely self-contained. We desire to build within this great heritage of the British race the greatest area of civilization with the highest standard of life in the world.

Let us free ourselves, as we can with the aid of modern science, from the chaos of the outside world and cease to wait as humble attendants on the advance of every backward nation on earth. How can we even begin to do this while our statesmen run from one international conference to another, holding out the palm of Britain for a few concessions from foreign countries? How can Conservatives face such a task when Mr. Chamberlain goes to the Bankers' dinner and pins his faith to the 'gold standard, international lending, and lower tariff barriers?' Every party in the State is now internationalist. The only difference is that the headquarters of the Socialist International is Moscow and the headquarters of the Conservative International is Wall Street. It is only natural that these new Conservatives should adopt Mr. MacDonald as their leader. He is a very appropriate liaison between the two.

III. The End of Vienna

By a Viennese

Translated from *Vu*, Paris Topical Weekly

FEBRUARY 12, 1934, is a funereal date in history. On that day Vienna ceased to exist as a European metropolis and became instead a capital with the same name, a city of the same rank as Munich or Zürich. This event marked the end of a struggle that had been raging for fifteen years unseen by the outer world, the struggle between Vienna and Austria. 'Vienna and Austria,' people will ask with astonishment, 'are n't they the same thing? Are n't they connected like the head and body of a single person?'

Anyone who believed that Austrians and Viennese were identical made a sad mistake. What really happened was that an Alpine tribe of Germans, the Austrians, slowly advanced against an essentially Latin city, and little by little the last vestiges of western civilization in the barbarous heart of Central Europe had to be abandoned. The tragic thing is that people believe that the opposite has occurred, for they confuse Vienna with Austria. The glow of culture and humanity that Vienna cast on the surrounding country was not recognized as emanating from the capital alone but was considered a product of the soil. Any question involving this little country at once evoked, rightly or wrongly, Strauss

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

waltzes, Schubert, good living—in short, the sugared movie cliché that represents Vienna abroad. Thus, the whole nation profited from the universal sympathy lavished on the city, and these profits were turned against Austria's mortal enemy—its capital.

Whence this hatred that the Austrians who dwell in the mountains and the valleys feel for Vienna? The answer can be found in Hitler's autobiography. In his opinion, and he did not mince words in expressing it, the city was not 'national' enough. Its joyfulness, its tendency to place man above any concept of nationality, its aversion to paper and pathos seemed to him lacking in seriousness. Young Hitler's experiences in the metropolis can be summed up briefly. He was a frontier Austrian, a young apprentice who had originated in the German countryside where he had knocked about in a region that boasted nothing but heaviness, long-windedness, and insignia. Finally he appeared, full of hope, at the doors of Vienna.

What a setting for his inflamed oratory. How easy it was going to be to gain the ear of some powerful figure and to pour out his gaudy vocabulary and fantastic points of view. But the young man discovered something extraordinary. This city did not understand his language, nor did he understand what it had to say. He was devoted to formulas. He did not know life. He talked in newspaper phrases, a kind of dialect. He brought to Vienna the doctrine of Germanism, and it replied by professing its faith in wine and liberty. He harangued it prophetically; Vienna replied with a joke.

'Are these Germans?' he finally said to himself. 'No, they must be French.'

And since he had seen a great many Jewish faces and since he heard people talking Czech every step he took instead of his dear, printed German, he felt that he was being watched maliciously and that a league was being organized against him and his serious point of view. A prejudice anchored itself in his mind. This Jewish-Czech-German mixture seemed to be talking some mysterious language to itself, but as far as he was concerned Vienna was as strange as China.

He turned his back on the city and dreamt, like a new Coriolanus, of the day when he would be able to reduce it to dust. Did he understand in his rage that for once a group of Germans had nothing to conceal but gestures signifying liberty and an approach to reality? He would have had the same experience in Paris, and it is probable that his impressions of Paris would have been almost identical. Both cities had one trait in common that made them real sisters and that he could not see. For there is a connection between constructing barricades and maintaining the spirit of gaiety. At the moment, the master of Germany may feel himself poles apart from the Austrians who are now in power, but in one sense he is their spokesman in his hatred of Vienna. The fact that the city was still governed by Socialists merely intensified his hatred.

One fact reveals the profound roots of Hitler's heritage. It is that throughout all Austria, and perhaps throughout the whole world of German culture, the Viennese are the only real citizens. The German is either a provincial or a peasant. With its light veneer of intellectualism Berlin was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nothing but Magdeburg raised to the tenth or twentieth power. Only the Viennese is really a citizen of a great city in the European sense of the term.

History has favored the Viennese in many ways. It began by amiably mixing in his blood so many different elements that he is essentially different from the mountain-dwelling Austrian or from the Bavarian. Finally, as a supreme benefit, Vienna never encouraged that hereditary virtue of the provincial—nationalism. Let us not forget that hardly an eighth of the city voted for the Nazi emblem. History has taught the Viennese to understand reality by giving him misery, joy, struggle, and customs that are at once free and orderly. Like the Parisian, he associates gaiety and courage. The foreigner knows only the first of these two qualities. He knows the songs, the humor, the gift of 'live and let live,' and now he has just learned with stupefaction that the Viennese can be revolutionary, if need be. But one merely needs to turn back to 1848 and compare the feeble revolts in Berlin with the heroic battles of the Viennese barricades to understand everything. The foreigner will then know that the hatred of the Austrian for Vienna is perhaps comparable to the hatred of a German tribe for a Roman community.

Vienna's tragedy in this struggle is that it had its adversary in its own palaces of government. Almost all the chancellors, ministers, and prefects of police that lived in Vienna were non-Viennese. Representatives of the peasants and provincials of Austria, they fought for a future Vienna, struggling to bring the city into a state of dependence on the countryside, as if to prove that history had abandoned it as a metropolis and made it into a modern Venice that had outlived its day. Since February 12, 1934, this German Venice is no more. The village sharp-shooters have swept the table clean. Coriolanus arrives too late. Vienna remains a second Munich.

IV. Holland in the Pacific

By Dr. Wilhelm Mautner

Translated from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Frankfurt Nazi Daily

Almost all the overseas possessions of the Netherlands, the third largest colonial empire in the world, lie closer to the danger zone in the Pacific than Great Britain's Asiatic territories or the west coast of the United States. This position of 'Holland in Asia' and the further circumstance that the mother country is neither a military power, like France, nor a sea power, like England, but a small European state, place the Netherlands in a peculiar position in relation to the problem of the Pacific. Moreover, even if we disregard the geographic situation and the unequal balance of forces, one fact of primary importance remains—Japan's economic expansion has driven southward just as much as westward. And, finally, there is this peculiar feature: the favorable reaction of the backward East Indian nations to the political and economic imperialism of a more highly developed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Asiatic Power that seems to be laying down the law to Europe.

Years ago, when the Great Powers in the Pacific were more or less evenly balanced, the security of the Dutch East Indies was balanced on the point of a pyramid, which was held in place by these various Powers. To-day, however, the pyramid may suddenly change its shape. It is still of the utmost importance to the Netherlands that no support should give way and that this artificial structure should not be upset by the predominance of any one Power. The Netherlands naturally fear Japan more than they do any other power. From America there is no threat of attack such as comes from a nation that has to find more room for an increasing population by seizing territory many hundreds of miles away. Nor is there any danger from Moscow, even that of revolution, although in that way even Russia believes she could easily become master of the situation. The Dutch, therefore, regard Japan as distrustfully as they did England fifty or a hundred years ago. And if the Japanese complain about the hostility and prejudice that Japanese policy itself has created, then, according to the Dutch, they can only repeat Till Eulenspiegel's lament: 'Men love me not . . . of course it's all my doing.'

Though people in Holland do not often mention the fact, they remember that during the War Japan demanded that in return for military aid Great Britain assure her a free hand in important parts of the East Indies. Nor do the Dutch often refer to the answer that Matsuoka, head of the Japanese delegation to the League, gave to a Dutch journalist last March when he was questioned about the possibility of Japan's taking a less friendly attitude toward Holland in the event of war with the United States on account of the great importance of the petroleum reserves and the oil ports of Borneo. Matsuoka merely questioned the possibility of such a war. The Dutch Government, however, cannot take such an optimistic view, and on the day Japan left the League of Nations some of the Dutch troops were mobilized in Borneo. Nor are the Dutch letting themselves be deceived by the continuous statements in Japanese papers that their attempts to put the oil ports of Borneo in a strong defensive position are like a grasshopper trying to halt an automobile.

Of course, the Netherlands and Japan have a standing treaty of arbitration and friendship. But the Dutch are asking if the Great Pacific War occurs what guarantees they will have that military and naval forces will respect international law and treaty obligations when a vital interest in victory is at stake. Would not Japan attempt to seize the East Indies since they contain the oil supplies that are essential to the Japanese Navy? People often call attention to the importance of these oil ports to Japan, to the intensive activity of Japanese fishing vessels in forbidden waters, to Japanese concessions near the oil fields, and to the soundings that the Japanese have been making without permission near Palembang in Sumatra, where there are big petroleum refineries. But the Dutch were clever enough not to give the Japanese any reason for complaint that European and American capital had been favored by granting them a big oil concession.

Of course, the Netherlands could

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not protect themselves against anything more than a surprise attack on the islands that lie along the equator like a girdle. Their navy could not resist the navies of any of the larger Powers even if they spent much larger sums on colonial defense. To-day, the military budget for Holland and the Dutch East Indies does not amount to much compared to the budgets of the larger Powers. As one of the Dutch newspapers has already indicated, the position of Holland and the strength of the Dutch fleet depend entirely on the help they could get in defending their neutrality.

Holland's valuable colonial possessions, the natural wealth of which has not been altered by the economic crisis, the extensive territories that might not lend themselves to European colonization but that certainly would offer an outlet for colonists from Asia might well tempt an attack quite apart from the petroleum wealth that they contain. There is no getting around the fact that Japan's oil production remained stable last year at about 275,000 tons, whereas imports amounted to 2,010,000 tons compared with only 246,000 in 1922. The production in the northern Russian half of Sakhalin Island and even the purchase of oil from abroad could not account for all these imports, and the cynical saying coined during the World War that a drop of petroleum was worth a drop of blood is as true to-day as it ever was. One fact, however, must not be overlooked—ownership of oil ports and oil supplies does not guarantee their safety from the attacks of air bombers.

Do the natives, in so far as they are striving for independence, look for aid from Japan as the predominating military power in Asia? Do they regard Japan as the nation that will redeem them from the yoke of Holland, which is really not very severe? A few Indo-Chinese intellectuals may feel this way, the rest are quite aware that the Japanese do not pay high wages and that they would merely be exchanging a rather mild master for a hard one. Only exalted or despairing spirits who say that they would be willing to ally themselves with the forces of Hell for the sake of East Indian freedom and independence could look favorably upon Japan. But in spite of the added interest that the natives are unquestionably taking in Japan,—and a radical native leader recently took refuge there,—the number of people who look for salvation from that quarter is very small.

II

It is only natural that interest in Japan should grow. The natives know Japanese goods and Japanese business men, for the Japanese—and now we come to one of the economic problems of the hour—do not only sell their goods to the East Indies at incredibly low prices; they are beginning to sell more and more of them. Thus they are competing not only with the importer of European goods but with the native manufacturer and with the Chinese middleman and retailer. Japanese competition has continued during the past year in spite of all the futile efforts that were made to check it. Statistics from Japanese sources show that in the first half of 1933 Japanese exports increased by 280 million yen to a total of 829.7 million yen, or 51 per cent. Japanese exports to Europe increased by 427

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

million yen, or 59 per cent; to China 70 million yen, or 29 per cent; to North America 219 million yen, or 28 per cent; to Central America 5 million yen, or 300 per cent; to Africa 63 million, or 90 per cent; and to Australia and other countries 29 million yen, or 81 per cent. Especially interesting in this connection is Japan's trade with the 'Nanjo,' those South Sea islands with an area equal to British India and a population of about a hundred million. Japanese exports to these islands were as follows during the first half-year in thousands of yen:—

	1933, First Half	1932	1931
Straits Settlements	18,058	25,449	19,119
British Borneo	44	51	53
Dutch Indies	64,384	100,251	63,450
French Indo-China	1,629	2,343	1,709
Philippines	9,290	22,362	20,425
Siam	8,235	8,581	4,727
	101,640	159,037	109,483

The chief items of export are cotton goods, silk, and rayon. Japan soon hopes to be the largest rayon producer in the world, while she continues exporting earthenware, cement, coal, woven goods, glassware, fish, ironware, preserves, matches, and toys. In so far as the Dutch East Indies are concerned, imports from Japan during the past year came to 21.4 per cent compared with 16.98 per cent for 1931. Dutch imports amounted to 15.75 per cent, and Holland was ousted from first place.

Japanese exports amount to almost as much as those of Germany (9.63 per cent), the United States (7.9 per cent), and England (6.6 per cent) put together. Japan's imports from 'Nanjo' have also increased:—

	1933, First Half	1932	1931
Straits Settlements	16,380	25,337	21,852
British Borneo	2,962	3,622	3,096
Dutch East Indies	25,962	40,409	46,080
French Indo-China	4,540	5,691	6,380
Philippines	7,031	9,764	8,987
Siam	6,127	11,197	6,792
	63,002	96,020	93,187

The most important articles Japan imports from the South Sea islands are rice from Siam, sugar and petroleum from the Dutch East Indies, tin, rubber, iron ore, hemp, and coal from French Indo-China.

The Japanese proudly announce, 'World trade is declining but Japan's trade is increasing, one reason for this being the decline of the yen, but another more important reason being the rapid progress of Japanese industry.' This commonplace confuses cause and effect. The largest and best equipped industry cannot function if there is no market for its products, and in a period of crisis a market can be found only by cutting wages and reducing the currency, and these measures of Japan have led to reprisals everywhere. British India and Malacca have adjusted their tariffs to favor British goods, and in the Philippines and in French Indo-China American and French goods are receiving preferential treatment. In the Dutch East Indies emergency measures have been taken in the form of 'crisis import control,' with a view to checking Japanese dumping.

When Japan complains that it is unfair to exclude from its natural markets the exports of a country whose population is increasing at the rate of a million a year, the Dutch reply that the measures against Japan are meas-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ures to counteract intentional currency depreciation, underpayment of workers, and subsidies, that, if Japan wants to do business abroad with the present and future generations, the Dutch must preserve the standard of living and pay of their own workers. But the extent to which Dutch industry has succeeded in protecting the Dutch East Indian market from Japan is shown by the fact that Japan's cotton exports to the Dutch East Indies during the first eight months of 1933 amounted to 257.02 million yards, an increase of 61.51 million yards or 31 per cent over the same period in 1932, and an increase of 102 per cent over two years ago.

Yet this competition, which is so disastrous to the Dutch textile industry, has certain advantages so far as the people of the Dutch East Indies are concerned, since it strengthens their competitive ability on the raw-material market. For, thanks to the cheap prices of Japanese goods, the natives can buy the clothes they need with the lower wages they are receiving to-day. Japanese competition includes everything from bicycles that sell for 25 marks apiece to electric light bulbs, from beer and imitation whiskey to Japanese sarong. And a Japanese warehouse has now been built that has alarmed the Chinese business men so much that a silent coalition has been formed between European and Chinese dealers and manufacturers. But there is no chance of fighting Japanese competition by industrializing the Dutch East Indies, for, except in isolated cases, the climate and the inclinations of the people would prevent any such development.

The Dutch East Indies and Holland are thus threatened by Japanese imperialism on two fronts—economic and political. The latter danger may be latent at the present time. The former danger is actual and concrete. Both these dangers are compelling the mother country and the colony to remain wide-awake and on their guard.

V. Yellow and White

By Franz Herczeg

Translated from the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, Vienna Conservative Daily

THE huge ship moves swiftly forward, trailing a brilliant wake of foam. It is a new ship on its first ocean voyage. High above, in the glassed-in captain's deck, a half-dozen Japanese naval officers stand motionless, their hands in their pockets. They are all looking at the graceful smooth hull of the white ship that is speeding ahead of them like a deer pursued by a wolf. Since early morning the new ship has been following this vessel, the *Caledonia*, the fastest European steamer. Ever since sunrise the Japanese have been pursuing the Europeans, fueling their furnaces to the bursting point. Every sailor on both ships would gladly give a year of his life if he could double the speed at which he is moving.

Two passengers are seated on the second-class deck in a corner protected from the wind. They are ignorant of the race that has made the nerves of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the sailors so tense and that is making the ship shake from stem to stern. One of them is a Negro, the other, an Indian. The black man is a Catholic priest on his way to join a mission on the Sandwich Islands. The man with the nut-brown skin is returning from England, where he has been studying at one of the universities. They talk quietly together and describe the experiences they have had in Europe.

'Why did you drop studying in their universities?' asks the black priest.

'There was no purpose in my continuing there.'

'So you know everything?' the Negro inquires.

'I did not devote myself to any one branch of science. I wanted to understand the essence of European civilization. What is it that gives the white people such an irritating sense of superiority toward other races? I tried to find the answer to this question by seeking out the central idea, or rather the fundamental idea, on which their whole civilization is based.'

'In short, the soul of Europe. And did you find it?'

'I found nothing.'

'Because a dredging machine does not bring up anything, that does not mean that the ocean has no bottom.'

'Do you think that the soul of Europe is as deep as the ocean? As for me, I believe that Europe, modern Europe, has no soul. I found nothing but truncated limbs and loose fragments like parts of a dead body that had been torn asunder. I asked myself whether I could ever understand why Europe was so great. Or does Europe merely look great to us because of our frog perspective? If Europe means all the Europeans, then there is no such thing as Europe, for I did not see any people who had become a solid part of the continent on which they dwelt. If the modern Asiatics or a horde of Mongols were to launch an attack, I have no doubt that half the white race would greet them with enthusiasm, for they have fought each other so much that they hate each other worse than death or Hell itself.'

'But how about science? One can't dismiss the knowledge that Europe possesses.'

'They know a great deal, more indeed than the human nervous system can assimilate. But their knowledge is made up of scraps and fragments, huge fragments, to be sure, but fragments, nevertheless. They are severed from culture as a whole, and they lead an independent life of their own, like a domestic cat that has reverted to the forest. European science has almost nothing to do with culture any more. Their scholars have forgotten the true aim of science.'

'And what is its true aim?'

'One thing only—to make human life more supportable. Look here, the Whites are more proud of their technical genius than of anything else. But their machines have been turned against human beings. In times of peace the machine creates unemployment; in times of war it destroys human life with terrifying energy.'

'The machine. But Europe has a lot more than that. It has ideas and emotions. It has religion and art.'

'Wait a minute, Your Reverence. When I sailed from Portsmouth, the whole English press was filled with accounts of the danger of an airplane attack. All the inhabitants of a city can be killed—women, and children, and everybody—while they sleep. Hundreds of thousands of people are ob-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sessed with this possibility to-day, but it has not occurred to anybody that the Christian religion of love might be able to prevent mass murder. And what about art? Art is the ornament of life. And I should like to know what the purpose of an ornament is if life itself has no essential meaning. European art is nothing but the ornamentation of a dead body.'

'What, then, do you think is going to happen?'

'The white races have wandered down a blind alley. They will not turn back, for humanity never does that. There is nothing left for them. Their rôle is finished.'

'Don't you pity them?'

The Indian shrugs his shoulders. 'To-day they have become the obstacle to human progress. But what do you think?'

'I am a Christian priest and believe in divine intervention. The Whites are the elected people of the Lord. God gave them a keener, more inventive intellectual capacity and a stronger will than other races so that they could fulfill their mission.'

'And what is their mission? To lead your inarticulate brothers, the colored races, to give them work, thought, and love? They have fulfilled this mission all too brilliantly. They have destroyed our old empires and ground our ancient culture in the dust. If all the blood and tears that the white man has drawn were gathered together, all Europe would be drowned.'

The Negro priest keeps silent for a while and then he says, 'It is written that the Kingdom of God will be taken from you and given to the heathen that they may harvest its fruit.'

'What kind of wisdom is that?' asks the Indian. 'How is it possible that your God made such a mistake in selecting his chosen people?'

'He allows men to keep their own free will and rewards or punishes them, depending upon how they use or misuse their freedom.'

'But if he knew in advance what was going to happen, why did he . . .'

'He also knew in advance that the summer flowers would wither in autumn. Nevertheless, he made summer beautiful with flowers, and this process of flowering and withering is life itself.'

'So be it,' says the Indian. 'If your God makes the white man wither then I bow down before him.'

At this moment the sirens on the Japanese ship begin to whistle in triumph. Inch by inch the new vessel gains on the *Caledonia* and finally passes it. The mortified white ship drops slowly behind as the minutes pass and looks smaller and darker in the evening twilight. The thin lips of the Japanese naval officers who are gathered around the captain on the bridge curl in a contemptuous smile.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This discourse on economic theory delivered before the Dutch Treat Club of New York compares our orthodox economists with the followers of Pythagoras.

The Modern Pythagoreans

By Bassett Jones

SOME years ago a friend and I were enjoying a particularly good dinner together when my friend remarked that eating was both the first and the last pleasure of man. With this I agree but would add that, as the years go by, it is to be hoped that a man may come to a philosophy of life that gives the form of reason to what may otherwise seem to be a continuum of events put together at random. Lacking such a philosophy, a man may be able to see in the antics of his fellows only what another friend likens to the non-directed fury of dancing dervishes. Then, he too may become but another fanatic—social, religious, political, or economic. And remember that Santayana has defined a fanatic as one who redoubles his efforts after having forgotten his aim.

When, however, a man approaches that 'last of life for which the first was made' and not only retains some degree of sanity but also attains unto the grace of humor,—which is the saving grace,—fortunate is he!

The concept of certainty is characteristic of the immature mind, quite irrespective of age and kind. 'The attainment of truth is through knowledge and is reached by progressing from the less probable to the more probable. And this, oh, Bhikkus, is the way that Lokadhatic moves.' This ancient Buddhist teaching is also an account of the progress of modern science. The laws of science define the degree of our present expectation that experience will be rational. Beware lest you mistake mere rationalization of ideas for experience, reason for understanding, 'ifs' for 'as ifs,' and 'as ifs' for actualities. Nay, more, mistake not either a conviction or a belief for ultimate realities, a doctrine for a law.

Josiah Royce once wrote, 'Doubt is the truest piety.' Then God grant us at least a modicum of piety. To the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

record of every set of observations he makes, the scientist attaches the symbol of his doubt. He calls it the 'probable error.' How many others can state the probable error of their beliefs or of their convictions? It is very likely that any statement any one makes is merely the result of his habit of thinking. Habits of thinking are various, depending on the particular, and more or less random, collection of ideas one happens to have in one's mind. Agreement is a matter of the correlation of ideas. If two men happen to have more or less similar ideas in their minds and attach the same ideas to the same noises they make with their mouths, it is equally probable that they will agree. What they happen to agree about is a matter of experience, and experience will probably show that both men are wrong. Yet in this way is truth made. As Justice White once wrote in a famous decision, 'truth is a matter of the market place'—the market place of ideas.

II

The scientist who asserts the certainty of his conclusions without at least a mental reservation as to improbabilities talks nonsense. Then how much less probable is likely to be the correctness of any one else's assertions that have not been most carefully compared with the implied actualities. To the degree that such tests have not obtained results that confirm the conclusion, the assertion can have but that accuracy involved in equal degrees of ignorance. Thus, most reasoning about things takes on somewhat the character of a game of dice.

In the earlier days of a less closely knit society, when social groups were almost as independent of each other as the marks on the dice, in whatever manner the dice were thrown by those who, for the moment, held the political cup, the result of the throw was of relatively little moment save, perhaps, to those directly engaged in the game. Green, for instance, states that in England the War of the Roses went on between those who chose to take a part in it with relatively little effect on the well-knit cities or on their commerce. But to-day, when society is no longer an aggregate of disparate groups but a single organism knit together by a common purpose denoted in the words, 'a standard of living,' and organized mentally on the base of a common knowledge, action—political and otherwise—based on a priori considerations drawn from more or less equal degrees of ignorance may be equally well proven to be wrong as right in the light of the actual consequences.

It might be suggested that we follow the excellent example set by the Hanseatic League in organizing commerce and living on an independent non-political plan and let the politicians and all those who prefer to settle their lives by the throw of a die instead of by the more probably correct procedures of science fight it out among themselves so long as they leave us alone. One reads of 'political science.' The words possess about the same meaning as 'the science of dice.' Political motives being essentially a priori and subjective, it is hopeless to expect that the method of politics can determine the magnitude as well as the character of the uncertainty involved in the result of any following action.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

So, too, one reads of 'economic science.' Again, the purely a priori and subjective character of its premises leads to conclusions widely at variance with actual economic phenomena. As Alfred Marshall writes in his *Principles of Economics* (p. 347), 'The fact that the general conditions of life are not stationary is the source of many of the difficulties that are met with in applying economic doctrines to practical problems.' In the first place, imagine assuming that conditions of life are stationary. Think, if you please, of a scientist who premised a theory of dynamics on the supposition that all material bodies moved at constant velocity and who then complained of the difficulties encountered in applying this theory, because, after all, the velocity of actual bodies in motion does change. Therefore, as Marshall implies, the law of supply and demand, which Henderson (*Supply and Demand*, p. 19) calls the 'corner stone of economic theory, the framework into which all analysis of special detail problems must be fitted,' is only applicable to the conditions of a static economy. Let me draw attention to Henderson's emphasis of the necessity that the result of the analysis of detail problems must fit this law. Thus, he expresses a conviction as to the required nature of any economy.

What happens if, as Marshall states, difficulties are encountered in cutting the cloth to fit? Shall the facts be altered accordingly? Let me here quote Irving Fisher, from the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August 1923: 'We actually falsify the records . . . We do this tampering by making believe . . . This frame-up enables us to cancel out the two troublesome indeterminate denominators.' It matters not one iota that this statement by Fisher relates to the method of preparing price-index numbers; it is here introduced to illustrate the spirit in which some economists approach their problems. If the facts do not fit expectations, alter the facts so that they will fit. In other words, load the dice so that you always win. If Fisher intended his remarks to be funny, let me draw your attention to the fact that they were perilously near the truth.

Now Henderson also writes in *Supply and Demand* (p. 23) that this 'undisputed buttress of economic theory,' the law of supply and demand, can be proved with all 'the precision of a proposition in Euclid.' Well, I, too, can draw some nice lines on a sheet of paper, call them anything I please, and make some lovely geometrical proofs about these things. Thus, I can employ the theorems of geometry to prove geometrical relations of those straight-line charts often seen in the reports of business-forecasting concerns; for instance, that the square of the number of bushels of wheat produced last year, plus the square of the time, say since 1900, equals the square of the length of the line from 1900 measured, it is to be presumed, in bushels per year. The fact that such charts are not at all connected with the geometry of space need not bother me at all. That they look like the illustrations in geometry books is evidence enough that bushels per year can be measured in terms of distance, say in feet, and also of time. I assert that such geometric imbecilities are quite on a par with these 'precise' demonstrations of the law of supply and demand that apparently occupied so much of Marshall's time

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and have since become a prolific source for illustrations in books on economics.

Furthermore, it should be noted that all of these proofs imply a timeless economy, quite as Euclid's proofs imply a timeless space. This is why Marshall notes the difficulties encountered in applying the law to an economy in which the process of exchange varies in time and with time. In fact, as your everyday experience will show you, even if they differ in no other respect, different exchanges vary with respect to one another in regard to the quantity of goods exchanged in any given time. Consequently, any theory of exchange supposed to describe the behavior of the exchange process that does not take this fact into account can be of no more importance than a theory of dynamics that omits the obvious actuality that bodies move relatively to one another in time and change their relative motions at different time rates. No wonder Marshall ran into some difficulties.

III

Of Jevons, another authority, I could also say much but have no space. Let me give you but one of his many pearls of wisdom. I shall quote from page 52 of his *Principles of Economics*, for, as I see it, here is definitely stated that fundamental mathematical fallacy that has given nearly all more recent economic theory its completely fallacious character: 'The value of a watch is not any number of sovereigns. It means the ratio 1/10 or 1/20, as the case may be, in which the watch exchanges for gold sovereigns. Value is a numerical ratio, an abstract number.'

Let me again quote, this time from Webster's *International Dictionary*, to the effect that an abstract number is a number not having any relation to an object. Please note the word 'any.' This being so,—and I can assure you that the definition is mathematically sound,—economic values have no relation to economic objects such as goods, services, or money. They have only the character of abstract numbers, namely the character of consecutiveness. They do not differ in amount, for amount signifies magnitude, and numbers in themselves do not differ in magnitude but only in respect to their consecutive position in the number series. Numbers are merely place symbols in a series of discrete entities. In so far as physical objects are such discrete entities, they may be given numbers. Numbers may be so used in connection with things—not numbers—only in so far as such things are numerable, and not otherwise.

Hence, by the acceptance of this definition of the word value as denoting an abstract number, Edgeworth, together with all of Jevons' followers to date, has succeeded in completely detaching economic theory from economic actualities. Economic theory has thus become the expression of a cult of numerologists. Indeed, they have gone so far as to apply numbers to such unmeasurable things as pleasure and pain, satisfactions and dissatisfactions. They have attempted to measure incommensurables.

I ask you to consider whether any degree of authority is sufficient warrant for the acceptance of a fallacy. Fortunately, in the lexicon of science the word 'authority' is given only to a man whose statements, when submitted to the test of repeated experi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ence, show that he always knows what he is actually talking or writing about.

It was Pythagoras of Samos who, drunk with reason and beauty, in sacred ecstasy saw the order of numbers in everything. He was the first numerologist and started that curious philosophy that even to-day finds in numbers alone the secret mystic and psychic key to an understanding of all phenomena, including economic ones.

It has been written by no less a person than Hermann Schneider of Leipzig that in all ancient civilizations the coming of a money economy to replace the economy of barter, which was ill fitted to cope with the trade of far-flung empires, was accompanied by a change from government by priests to political governments of kings, emperors, and presidents, when the money changers wrangled in the places of worship before the golden images. It behooves us to think upon this lesson. As we see our economy of money showing signs of its unfitness in a time when we no longer wonder how to produce the goods we want but how to devise wants for the goods we can produce, we should think upon the possible implications of this condition. Already the Pythagorean priests sit in the places of government, giving and prating of numbers, counting out their indexes, and weirdly chanting their maraboutic mysteries wherein they read our economic horoscopes.

A critic of mine has accused me of approaching this matter 'with invective laden with misunderstanding.' I conclude that my critic lacks the leaven of humor, the virus of which is the only known antidote for that dread disease—mental sclerosis. As to misunderstanding, in excuse I merely point out the almost insuperable difficulty of making absurdities clear.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Persons and Personages

André Maurois and Edward VII

By Bernard de Vaulx

Translated from *Je Suis Partout*, Paris Topical Weekly

André Maurois's last book is much more than a biography of Edward VII. Its aim, as he expressly states in the introduction, is to include a whole chapter of English history and 'to describe the mechanism that makes war and peace, the mechanism of which the sovereign, the ministers, and ambassadors are the wheels and of which ambition, fear, pride, and courage are the motors.'

'It was under Edward VII,' he told me, 'that Lloyd George first entered the Cabinet and power fell from the hands of the big Conservative and Liberal families who had held it alternately for centuries. The rise of the celebrated Welshman marked the arrival of the discontented people. To be sure, previous ministers had not always been chosen from high spheres. Peel and Gladstone had entered the framework of the Liberal party as new men, but they did not modify its traditional policy or change the balance between Liberal and Tory. The two great parties had always kept a sharp eye on the universities from which they had recruited new leaders to defend their ideas. With Lloyd George entirely new men, who did not fall into the old classifications, came into power and prepared the way for the Labor Party.

'These promotions did not produce any radical upheavals since the country is profoundly impregnated with loyalty. English society automatically elevated the parvenu by making him a lord, and there is no reason to think that its subtleness has changed to-day. Snowden was given a title and accepted it.'

'There will be,' I said laughing, 'less of the picturesque in the annals of politics, of that peculiar picturesqueness we felt in the figure of the Duke of Devonshire who used to affect outdoor clothes and came to the House of Lords in a hunting costume.'

'I am not sure that I agree with you. What really makes a man picturesque is the legitimate conviction of his own importance. If he is sure of himself, he shatters convention and acquires originality. That is what made Foch picturesque.'

'But were n't there more striking transformations in English life before the reign of Edward VII? I am tempted to imagine Queen Victoria as being a little like Louis XIV, using her long rule to impose a restraint,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

or at least a set of habits, that finally weighed heavily on the younger generation.'

'She kept the Prince of Wales out of politics although he was fifty. Maurice Baring, who had been stationed in the Foreign Office to prepare the dispatches to be submitted to Edward VII, had been ordered to suppress everything important.'

'Did she exercise similar restraint in intellectual life?'

'Unlike Louis XIV, who was a patron of Molière, she remained aloof from literary movements. Shaw was not acted during her lifetime, and Edward remained almost as indifferent as she did to literature and the arts. But his reputation for good nature and good fellowship led to a general moral transformation, and writers felt themselves more free when he mounted the throne. Being above his subjects and immune to snobbishness, a sovereign can become a real arbiter if he is a man of good sense. He soothes, settles, and removes conflicts. Edward VII played this rôle with rare skill. He was confident that problems are fundamentally simple and that if the protagonists can be seated face to face in good armchairs with big cigars their differences can always be settled.'

'Was the alliance with France his work and the fruit of his will?'

'His personal interest in this particular cause made itself felt in small groups and upon the masses. Apropos of the negotiations leading to the French alliance several remarks could be made on one of the most important changes that have occurred in our time. I mean the rôle that the newspapers play. Through the newspapers public opinion now participates in debates on foreign policy. This is not always a good thing because the masses lack sufficient information. It would be fair to say that the *entente cordiale* could not have been reached if British opinion had been informed at the start. The ill feeling created by the Fashoda incident did not abate quickly. If it had been announced that the two countries were getting together, articles hostile to England would have appeared in France. If the projected agreement had been made public, bitter discussion would have resulted and the patient efforts of King Edward and Delcassé to settle pending differences would probably have been futile.'

'The old diplomacy had its points.'

'I should say that professional diplomats are the best instruments of peace. They are used to keeping their heads. Above all their vocabulary is precise. Their legal training prepares them to define their engagements, to write their treaties with a precision that limits the danger of conflict as much as is humanly possible. The choice of words is a matter of great importance, especially with people who are as fond of legal precision as the English are.'

'You defend the diplomats, but the personal influence of the sover-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eign on the people may, in certain cases, be of great assistance. Edward VII was able to win the population of Paris within three days.'

'It must be remembered that there is some fiction in what is known as the sentiment of one nation toward another. National psychology is an artificial idea. Behind the words "the French" and "the English" we can detect a few general, more or less sympathetic traits, but nothing is clear, no image stands out. Now people prefer what is concrete. All religions have incarnated their gods. It is a human need. When a nation can be incarnated in a man who represents all that is most true and noble in the eyes of other countries, that nation possesses something very powerful. We saw an illustration of this when Edward VII visited Paris in 1903. On the other hand, it may happen that the man who represents his people in the eyes of the world may not express them as they really are. Such a man becomes harmful, since he leads the foreigner into error.'

'What of England to-day?'

'I see no sign of decadence there. The public school spirit, which teaches loyalty to the young English, remains alive. Remember how MacDonald looked in Paris during George V's serious illness. He began his first speech by alluding to the fears of the English and invited his French listeners to think of the British sovereign for a moment.

'Six months ago I met in London one of the directors of the Bank of England who explained to me why his country should pay its debt to the United States. "But how can you do it?" I asked. "By sending them gold." "You will simply diminish your gold reserves." "What of it?" "But to maintain the pound you need a gold reserve." He then picked up a piece of paper and said, "If I write on this paper that it is worth a pound and sign it, it will be a pound."

'That symbolizes the Englishman's self-confidence. It is a precious quality. It sometimes leads him to act imprudently. But don't we go too far in the opposite direction and underestimate our own power?'

The Return of Jacques Copeau

By Maggie Guiral

Translated from *Voilà*, Paris Topical Weekly

EVERY art has its heroes. When Jacques Copeau says, 'In one way or another I have been in the theatre all my life,' hope takes the place of despair. Innumerable fields of conquest were open to him. But he has remained in the theatre. He knows its weapons, and after a half-retreat, a half-silence, he has returned to it. His experience banishes our doubts.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I want him to help me in appraising the past: was the theatre more truly loved in former years?

'It is difficult to make you see what it was like when I first went on the stage and began working with comedians. People did not go out so much. The theatre had already been commercialized, but its public was less numerous and on a higher level.'

But, to-day, are not the movies the detour that will bring the faithful back to the theatre, freeing it from a less demanding clientèle? This banal objection plunges Copeau into silence. He is always highly attentive, and nothing is too slight for his ever-watchful mind. The slightest question becomes the text of a dialogue.

'The future always fools us. In any case, we can imagine—and I intend no offense—that the movies will cater to the ordinary pleasures of the people. If theatres grow fewer, their quality will have a chance to improve.

'Is there a public—or several publics? Look at the leisured and so-called cultured classes who may be called the "snobs" or the "elect," according to one's humor. They pay more for their seats, but you cannot say that they are the mainstays of theatrical life. The real devotees are the young people—artistic, wholesome, intellectual, and generally poor—and the petty officials, professors, and students. But such things cannot be fully explained in a few seconds. To-day, when the theatre is subject to all sorts of influences, when it is in communication with literature, with the movies, with foreign lands, even with the circus, when subjects change because life itself changes, when all of us are caught in fluctuations, no formula will do.'

Does the public want powerful lessons? Can we, accustomed as we are to speed, take pleasure in the magic, fantastic Shakespeare—the Shakespeare of *The Winter's Tale* and *Twelfth Night?*

Copeau's face brightens. 'I think so,' he says. 'It is not because of their inherent qualities that masterpieces do not achieve public acclaim, but because they are not presented theatrically. The public, after all, has a certain amount of good will. See how it follows the efforts of Dullin, who produced *Richard III*, or even those of the poor old Comédie-Française with *Coriolanus*.

'The intelligence that an actor needs depends on the rôle he is playing. A certain kind of purely critical intelligence may even be harmful. In any case, it can never take the place of natural talent.'

As he says these words I mention Valentine Tessier; Jacques Copeau smiles as if he were meeting an old friend.

'When I first knew Valentine,' he says, 'she was eighteen years old. She was a member of that Vieux-Colombier group that I recruited for natural talent and with which I worked as people don't work any more.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We rehearsed every day—a tremendous variety of things that gave the young actors many an opportunity to show their true mettle. It was really a school; we had team spirit.'

Then, Copeau wanted to try another experiment. In the isolated Burgundy countryside, which seems more powerful, more fruitful than any other part of France, he gathered young, often uneducated people.

'It was the communal life. Boys and girls worked from morning to night. This régime demanded total abnegation, disinterestedness, and strict discipline. I welcomed especially those who were willing to submit to it. They lived fervently.'

In the purity of nature, spring, and sunshine, uninterrupted contact with so bold and definite an intelligence left its mark upon them. Jacques Copeau does not try to deny it. He dislikes pretense and false modesty. He wears no mask. Everywhere and on all occasions he has remained uncompromising, his face uncovered. In this retirement, far from the world, he has taken on new strength. 'You see,' he says thoughtfully, 'the most terrible thing a man can have is conceit. All prominent people—even ministers—are its slaves. There is only one worse state—simplicity.'

I do not feel I can leave him without asking whether he is still willing to guide and instruct those who come to him for advice.

'Of course. To take an interest in young, untried people is my specialty. They come to me from all over France and from foreign countries. But for the time being I cannot undertake anything new. I am producing Mme. Rubinstein's works, the choreography of which is under the direction of Fokine and Joos.'

Having worked in poverty, he now has the Oriental magnificence of Ida Rubinstein at his command. He is going to show us how truly strong men will not bow down before anything. And we shall see his production in the spring. When we are drunk with the promises of the earth, when the sap runs more swiftly through the trees, when all is bursting into hope—then it will be fitting to celebrate the return of Jacques Copeau to the Parisian stage.

Germany's Uncrowned King

By a Berlin Correspondent

From the *Sunday Times*, London Conservative Sunday Paper

WHAT is the secret of Adolf Hitler's dramatic success as Chancellor? Those who had known him personally for years before his sudden accession to power all predicted that, when faced with new situations that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

neither his character nor his experience had fitted him to handle, Hitler would have to capitulate. Yet one situation after another has been disposed of with adroitness.

Among Hitler's intimates, no man of the National-Socialist Party appears qualified to supply what Hitler himself has admittedly always lacked. Either one must accept the view—as the majority of the German people have done—that Hitler in office has proved himself a genius or that he derives help from some unknown source. That source is Dr. Otto Meissner, officially known as the 'Secretary to the President.'

Meissner is the one man in Germany who has been making history continuously since the German army collapsed in November, 1918. All that time his hand has been on the lever directing the destinies of the nation. Still he has contrived to remain almost entirely unknown, even in Germany. Part of his success is due to his insuperable aversion to publicity of any kind.

He is of no political party and has been equally successful with Social Democrats, Monarchists, and National Socialists. Although trained as an aristocrat and bearing in his personality all the characteristics of the typical Monarchist, Meissner was suddenly appointed in 1920 'Chief of the President's Bureau,' the president in question being the Socialist Herr Ebert. The contrast between the two men was almost ludicrous. But when President Hindenburg, the indomitable old Monarchist, Ebert's antithesis in every way, was elected president in 1925, Meissner was told to carry on. And lastly in 1933, when the Hitler régime made a clean sweep of nearly all the influential officials not belonging to their own party, Meissner was one of the few whose position remained unaffected. What accounts for his immunity?

Meissner, as a trained lawyer, had made himself an expert on all aspects of the Weimar Constitution. Had, in fact, written two books about it. Ebert, by profession a saddler, was incapable of grasping the full legal significance of all its provisions. So Ebert became accustomed more and more to rely on Meissner to find out what his presidential powers exactly were.

As a soldier and a Monarchist, Meissner's instinctive aim amid the political quicksands of the time was to strengthen the authority of the President. Again and again, Meissner showed Ebert how to use the unsuspected powers conferred by the Constitution to cope with the difficulties and deadlocks incessantly arising. This made Meissner indispensable. His claim on Ebert's gratitude was all the stronger because he asked for nothing in return—in fact, made it a condition that he should be left out of the limelight. Ebert knew that Meissner would never 'give the game away.' All Meissner wanted was to see the Fatherland rehabilitated.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When Ebert died, Field Marshal von Hindenburg was suddenly invested with immense powers that he was too old to learn to use but with which he was expected to solve abstruse situations that grew daily more and more complicated. Meissner's preponderating influence is due to two things—his juristic learning and skill as a lawyer, and his profound knowledge of human nature. He needed them both in the early years of collaboration with President Hindenburg. Every law passed in Germany needs the President's signature. Many a time Meissner, the jurist, detected flaws that compelled him to fight for revision. But, more often, his most difficult task was to persuade the President to sign laws that were distasteful but which Meissner knew to be essential for the good of the Reich. All the time it was Meissner ruling—not Hindenburg.

Had Meissner been anything more than 'President's Secretary' he would have become a target for public abuse. But nobody dared attack the aged Hindenburg, hero of Tannenberg. So Meissner did everything in Hindenburg's name, as he had formerly done in Ebert's. Even more remarkable was his part in the triumph of the Nazis. After the death of Dr. Stresemann, Meissner saw clearly that the days of Social Democracy were numbered. The Republic had proved itself incapable of accomplishing what Meissner had in view. He saw National Socialism as a popular movement gathering momentum.

Meissner was not impressed by the theoretical views that the leaders of the movement preached, but his South-German origin and his own rigid self-discipline made him feel sympathy for many of its aspirations. As a preliminary, he brought about a meeting between Hindenburg and Göring.

Dr. Brüning's downfall, which has never yet been fully accounted for, was due to a conflict with Meissner. After the failure of von Papen and von Schleicher as chancellors, Meissner called a conference with Hitler and von Papen at the Hotel Kaiserhof in Berlin. It convinced him that the only way to deal with the National-Socialist movement and stabilize conditions in Germany was to make Hitler chancellor.

A day or two afterwards, a secret meeting attended by Meissner, Hitler, and Hugenberg took place. At its close Hitler held out his hand to Hugenberg, saying, 'There is no way out except by the collaboration of all nationalist forces.' It was a temporary compromise to usher in National Socialism to despotic power. All the rest is common knowledge.

Speculation has been busy in initiated circles as to Meissner's future. He is still only fifty-four years of age and in full vigor. His immense value to the State is fully recognized by the men of the present régime. Hitler is his warm friend. Even Meissner's independence of spirit inspires respect. Whatever his future, nobody doubts that he, as much as any other one man, will continue to hold the destiny of Germany in his hand.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The author of *A Cultural History of the Modern Age* writes on prehistoric man from the point of view of the artist.

NOTES *on* Pre-History

By Egon Friedell

Translated from the *Neue Freie Presse*
Vienna Liberal Daily

Mommsen once declared that pre-history deals with that part of history that is neither knowable nor worth knowing. From a strictly historical standpoint he is no doubt right, for pre-history in the real sense of the word has no historic knowledge or interest. The periods with which it deals are always displayed in cross section, never longitudinally. It might be described as a static rather than a dynamic subject—a static science. Furthermore, it does not call up in later generations that lively sense of participation that real history arouses. Although we have made tremendous gains in the extent and depth of our knowledge during the last fifty years, the words that Ranke wrote in the introduction to his history of the world still hold more or less true: 'This problem must be left to science and even to religion.'

The peculiar character of pre-history resides primarily in the fact that we know certain details about the daily life of the period but nothing about such important questions as religion, social structure, territory occupied, and erotic lore. We know how the prehistoric man tied his shoes and what he had for breakfast, but we do not know what world sense filled him or how he looked, and as long as we do not know such things he does not speak to us.

The Diluvian Period, which may have lasted a million or a quarter of a million years, is generally regarded as the period of cave life. Even in the animal world there were cave lions, cave bears, cave hyenas. The reindeer had apparently been domesticated in the early Stone Age, and man was a hunter. He made knives and spearheads, hammers and saws out of flint, and he made arrowheads and harpoons, nails and cutlery out of bone. He had leather bags, woven baskets, strings of sea shells, and en-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

graved handles. Even the earliest caves contain pictures of men and animals.

The first remains of human culture, the so-called eoliths or 'stones of the dawn,' were rough-hewn, wedge-shaped objects that perhaps date back as far as the Tertiary Period, although many people consider them the works of nature. Toward the end of the Glacial Age there appeared the *abri sous roches*, as the French call a certain stone-covered shelter built into a mountain fastness. Pictures of huts and tents are just as old. In the first mid-Glacial Age or at any rate between the Tertiary and the Diluvian Period we come upon the oldest human skeleton that has yet come to light—a jawbone dug up in the neighborhood of Heidelberg, with human teeth but otherwise strongly ape-like.

Let me make the point once and for all that the ape-like appearance of the earliest human remains a subject that is widely debated and does not prove that men are descended from apes, which is something Darwin never said, or that men are even the cousins of apes, which is something at which Darwin merely hinted. Man is the cousin of all creation, and he has such a deep sense of this fact that in many of the old cultures he used to make masks in the semblance of animals. Everyone knows that the embryo in the human body passes through all the animal stages. It changes from amœba to worm, to fish, to frog, to mammal before it becomes man. But this does not mean that these creatures are man's ancestors. Rather does it indicate that he is theirs. His heart beats in every living thing, and every living thing is moving toward him. 'Sing, my sister,' said St. Francis to the cicada. And to the swallow, 'My dear little sister, you have cried long enough. Now it is my turn to speak.' And to the wolf, 'Will you always remain a robber and murderer, my brother?' To-day we tend to recognize the apes as our cousins and brothers, and when zoölogists tell about ape-men and men-apes, about anthropoids and orang-outangs, it reminds us of the mermaid with the fish's tail, which stands as a lovely symbol that well repays reflection.

II

In the last mid-Glacial Age, twenty thousand or two hundred thousand years ago, the famous Neanderthal man appeared, so called because his fossilized remains were first discovered in Neanderthal near Düsseldorf. He is considered the *homo primigenius*, the original man. He spread all over Africa, Asia, and Europe and disappeared during the last Glacial Age. He had a massive jawbone but no real chin and protuberant bones over his eyes, his face sloped backward, and the top of his head was flat. He had a comparatively small brain space, and the front part of his skull where the centre of speech resides was especially small. But this does not compel us to draw any specific conclusions about his intellectual powers. As the famous geographer, Oscar Peschel, said more than sixty years ago in answer to materialistic arguments of this kind, 'Who would judge the relative merits of a cathedral clock and a pocket watch on the basis of how much they weigh?'

Think of the brains of bees and ants that are hardly as big as the head of a pin. Furthermore, the capacity of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

brain has been studied, and it was found that the brains of Gauss and Helmholtz weighed only a little more than the average and that the brain of Ignaz von Döllinger weighed rather less. McGregor has tried to reconstruct a bust depicting the Neanderthal man, and he has given him a head like Socrates.

The Neanderthal man discovered the use of fire. He made all kinds of tools, created the custom of bestowing gifts upon the dead, and must have possessed some form of speech in order to do all these things. He lived like a beast of prey on other beasts, but we do the same thing now. He probably hunted his own kind, but so do we. There is no reason to exalt ourselves above primitive man.

The Rhodesian man, who was recently discovered on Broken Hill in South Africa, is usually considered the link between the Neanderthal man and *homo sapiens*. Only the bones over his eyes are still ape-like, and his lower jaw is conspicuously massive. His age is estimated at a few hundred thousand years. Here, however, we come upon a vexing problem in prehistoric knowledge. In all periods higher and lower races lived in the world at the same time, and since we do not know whether our discovery represents the oldest or the youngest form then in existence it tells us but little about the historical development. What notion the student of pre-history will get a hundred thousand years hence from our own species depends on whether his excavating shovel happens to hit on the bones of a member of some highly developed race or on an Australian bushman, who cannot be very different from the Rhodesian man.

At the beginning of the last Glacial Age the Cromagnon race appeared, so named from the Cromagnon cave in Dordogne, with a skeleton and skull very similar to modern man. It represents the type of *homo sapiens fossilis*. Was the Neanderthal man an independent branch of human life that completely died out, or was the Cromagnon man his descendant? We do not know, but in any case Cromagnon man possessed marked beauty. Was he an Atlantean, an original Indian, or an original Indo-German? He liked to paint corpses or lay them in their graves with red chalk to paint themselves. From this we may conclude that this painting custom prevailed also in daily life. He liked to wear a crown of feathers. Perhaps he was a kind of 'redskin,' for the Indians described themselves in this way because of the way they painted their bodies, and the pictures of Cromagnon man show that he had a beardless face and a light brown skin like the Indians. The women wore bell-shaped skirts and had their hair cut like boys in the fashion of Crete. Inscriptions have been found on stones and the walls of caves that are not unlike the early European alphabets.

The Basque language that is still spoken in the western Pyrenees to-day is the last survival of the speech of the Iberians, an unknown race that occupied Spain and Britain during the Stone-Copper Age. Its language is a completely foreign body surrounded by all the other languages of Europe, and people in the south of France say that the Devil took seven years to learn Basque but finally learned only two words, both of them wrong. In form and syntax the Basque language clearly resembles the ancient Ameri-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can languages. In my own opinion, which is, of course, completely hypothetical, the Cromagnards were a branch of a very noble race that once spread over America, Atlantis, and the greater part of the old world. Its last remains in the West are the Incas, and in the East, those mysterious people that are regarded as non-Indo-Germanic for lack of any other name but that could perhaps be better described as pre-Indo-Germanic.

The art of these people reached a high level almost incomprehensible to us. To regard them as gifted savages, as Wells does, speaks volumes for the obduracy of that liberal progressive dogmatist. For who knows what subtlety they may not have shown in their life forms? Something of their character can be discovered in the culture of old Peru, and Cooper's 'Leather stocking' series catches a shimmer of Atlantic nobility. The Basque language has different forms for the second person singular depending on whether a man or a woman is being addressed, which is the summit of gallantry. Moreover, the Polynesians have four or five different words for lady but not one for woman.

III

The late Paleolithic Period has left behind, among other things, engraved, tinted black and red paintings that stand out in relief. They are similar to the highly developed stone cuttings of the South African bushman and represent mammoths, wolves, deer, and cave lions in brilliant outline, silhouettes of a vivid wild-boar hunt, and a fight between archers, in which all kinds of complicated attitudes are attempted with people standing one behind the other and one above the other. Plastic representations of men and beasts have also been uncovered, among them the famous Venus of Willendorf, a nude statuette covered with red chalk, in an attitude of prayer such as the Orientals assume to-day. The thick torso, the huge breasts and heavy thighs do not coincide with our idea of beauty, but many people regarded fatness as the height of feminine charm. It is at least as lovely as the beauties of the Cubists, who represent buses as feminine figures, and is, in any case, a greater work of art than Cubism has ever brought forth.

The marvelously colored paintings in the caves of Altamira are artistic creations of the highest order. The bison is represented in every possible situation along with bears, reindeer, and wild boar—grazing, sleeping, fighting, dying. The wonderful head of a horse cut out of bone and discovered in Mas-d'Azil has been compared with the sculpture of the Parthenon, and the groupings have been likened to the compositions of the Expressionists. Comparisons have also been made between the color of the red chalk and Rembrandt's colors, but all of them miss the essential point. This art is more magic than the Greek, more elemental than Rembrandt, more expressive than the Expressionists. Only Egypt, Crete, and the Gothic could be put on the same level. These artists were, as the great paleontologist Edgar Dacqué has said, 'nature seers.' They penetrated intuitively to the heart of things. Here is pure realism, not the impotent, self-conscious surrealism of our times. Moreover, prehistoric painting had a long history of development, and only a few pages of it have fallen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

our way. We can see it only in fragments.

Men whose artistic desire materialized in such a form must have possessed a very high culture. From our positivistic point of view, which identifies culture with the printing press and rapid transportation, we look at these marvelous cave pictures as mere representations of a religious impulse. But if we grasp their significance we understand that all true art is a cult, a divine service, even a kind of exorcism. It must indeed have possessed an unearthly charm since it has lost none of its force with the passing of twenty or even a hundred thousand years.

The Neolithic Age, or the Early Stone Age, sometimes incorrectly referred to in a narrower sense as the Stone Age, extends roughly from the flood to the beginning of the Bronze Age. Its start thus coincides with the end of the last Ice Age. Its termination cannot be dated so definitely. In Egypt and Mesopotamia it came to a close about 4000 B.C., in Central and Northern Europe about 2000 B.C., and in Oceania it still continues. But the inhabitants of Oceania prove that metal and culture do not always exist side by side. Their technique of mat weaving, for instance, and their skill at making the most delicate fabrics and serviceable leather out of tree bark cannot be duplicated anywhere in the world.

The end of the Stone Age does not always coincide with the end of pre-history, so that one cannot say that real history begins with the appearance of metal. In Central and Northern Europe, for instance, where the Bronze Age began in the year 2000, pre-history extends to the beginning of the Christian era. Nor can one say that real knowledge begins where pre-history ends. Pre-history, too, is a science; only it is not historic science, for history has always dealt with individuals, with single units, even when they combine in collective enterprises and mass events. The human beings with which it is concerned always look and walk in a certain way as they have never done before and as they will never do again. Pre-historic men, on the other hand, are disembodied spirits. They are dumb, without faces, a company of ghosts. They announce themselves to us only through gestures and signs, most of them mysterious.

Nevertheless, it would be going much too far to regard pre-history as primarily a field for research. That was the preconceived idea of a literally minded period that believed only in the idolatry of words and not in the events that these words described. From that point of view history at once ceases when philology has nothing to sink its teeth into. The idea that there could have been culture without any written language, culture that needed no dead letters because living thought took their place, would have been rejected with a superior smile by a whole century that devoted itself to collecting and decoding written commentaries. Only recently has it dawned on our consciousness that the outlines of a house, the shape of a vessel, the position of a grave or an altar are historic events with just as much weight as an inscription or a chronicle. But such matters possess weight without content, for the most primitive or darkest speech of man says more to us about his soul than all his utensils, clothing, weapons, and idols. What we

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

want to know is how he wore his clothes and what idea he attached to his idol. Yet the words of the wise Ranke have a certain meaning: 'Prehistory is natural history or religion. We have only two possibilities to choose between; we can either write beautiful descriptions of the lovely artistic forms these people created or we can stand dumb with awe before their mysterious messages.'

IV

In place of the fossils that the paleontologist follows through the labyrinthine history of the earth, ceramics appear in the Stone Age. I shall not venture here into the complicated controversial question of periods and areas. The Neolithic Age was an age of popular migration. From an artistic point of view it was certainly inferior to the late Paleolithic. Everyone knows the houses that were erected on stilts over lakes, moors, and rivers, as well as on firm ground; originally they served as a protection against wild beasts. Such houses still exist in the tropics. Boats hollowed out of a big tree trunk have also been found everywhere. The study of refuse, great quantities of which have been found in northern countries, shows us that the men who lived in houses built on piles used to raise barley, wheat, millet, peas, crab-apples, and wine, that they not only ate a great deal of fish but also oysters, mussels, and clams, and that they had almost all our present domestic animals except chickens. Northern people had domesticated the horse long before the southern races had. The cat, on the other hand, was a late gift of the Orient to Europe.

The builders of raised houses dwelt in villages, and it is easy to distinguish between the rulers' houses, the administrators' quarters, and the shelters for cattle and grain. Specially characteristic of the late Stone Age are the great megalith graves, which are described by the old Celtic word dolmen, or stone table. These are burial chambers made of stone blocks in the form of artificial hills, and alleys lead to them flanked by obelisk-shaped stones, the so-called menhirs, or long stones. These burial places extend from England to North Africa. Many other sites have yielded dagger handles consisting of a metal blade that is set at right angles in a wooden handle, the descendant of the axe and the predecessor of the sword. The new forms of this period include leather receptacles, big clay tubs as repositories for the dead, round bottles, drinking utensils, 'coffee cups,' and even crude imitation wares polished red to look like copper.

We now find ourselves on the way to the Metal Age, during which copper was the first metal to be worked. It is very soft, and probably did not completely displace the harder kinds of stone. Hence we speak of the Stone-Copper Age. Bronze seems to have been discovered about 2500 B.C. and simply indicates that people mixed copper and tin. At first, only a small amount of tin was added, but it gradually increased to 10 per cent, which seemed to be the most advantageous proportion since it remained fixed at that point. The new alloy was not only harder but much easier to smelt. The second millennium before Christ was the classic era of bronze culture. It is generally spoken of as the period of increasing navigation, of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'heliolithic culture,' when people worshiped the sun and buried their dead in caves. Imitation products again came to the fore—earthenware vessels made to look like bronze, a symbol of the world dominance of this metal that extended from Mexico and Peru to India and China.

The Bronze Age lasted in America until that continent was discovered. Prehistoric excavations in Egypt have shown that iron was used in 5000 B.C., but until the year 1000 B.C. it was used only as currency and for costly decorations. Although culture was much lower in Europe than in the Orient during the Bronze Age, Europe seems to have taken up iron before the Orient. But the entire Middle-European Iron Age, the last thousand years before Christ, is, as we have said, prehistory. We still live in the Iron Age to-day, or, rather, we did until the last two or three generations, which might be considered the Steel Age.

In a small but very meaty volume, *Man and Technics*, packed with that cold brilliance that illuminates all his work, Oswald Spengler has directed his vision to the development of humanity. To him man is a beast of prey. 'Only the idealistic philosophers and other earnest theologians lack the courage to admit what one silently knows to be quite true.' And it is indeed a fact that man is an inventive beast of prey. By what path has he reached his condition? 'The answer is through the development of the hand. It must have suddenly emerged like a flash of lightning or an earthquake, the way everything decisive happens in world history, everything that is epoch-making in the highest sense.' Along with the hand came the weapon and the tool, its necessary extensions. A second 'mutation' of the same kind occurred when speech developed, the use of which was identical with enterprise, reckoning, and organization. In Spengler's opinion, speech first appeared in the fifth millennium before Christ, and to-day we stand on the heights where the fifth act begins. 'The last decisions fall, the drama ends.'

The philosophy of catastrophe is undoubtedly a much more profound conception than the bourgeois philosophy of evolution, and a far more heroic one, but the icy pessimism of Spengler thinks only of catastrophes and of senseless ones, to boot. 'In and of itself it makes no difference what may be the fate of this little planet as it runs its course somewhere in endless space for a brief time. The history of man on this planet is short, a sudden rise and fall lasting a few thousand years, something that is surely irrelevant to the destiny of the earth.'

Here is naturalistic atheism of the highest order. It has all the genius of Mephistopheles. Although Spengler strongly opposes Darwin, he has always been fascinated by him. But everything created is life, and everything alive is spirit. Life and spirit have a history but no beginning, and every ruin is a monument. In the eyes of God all planets are the same size, all lives are eternal, and before His throne there are only fallen spirits—not spiritless beasts of prey. Only in moments of forgetfulness, which are, of course, not infrequent, is man a beast. And the West will decline only in so far as it is Spengler's.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

G. K. Chesterton expounds the wisdom of faith, Paul Valéry the wisdom of æsthetic skepticism, and a German doctor the common sense of his profession.

Words *from* the WISE

An Unholy Trinity

I. Seven Days

By G. K. Chesterton

From the *Listener*, Weekly Organ of the British Broadcasting Corporation

YOU will all be struck by my remarkable resemblance to the Devil, having only fifteen minutes in which to talk about seven days, and having great wrath because my time is short. It is obvious that this survey of a week might be made in several ways, and especially in two ways. I might make it what is called a survey of public events, which means a survey of the very few important events that are made public. In other words, I could tell you all that you have already read in the newspapers, for some of the least important social events are still allowed to appear in the newspapers. But it would be much better fun to tell you the things that do not appear in the newspapers.

In that respect France is more fortunate than England; we have had plenty of politicians whose names have been linked with financiers like Stavisky; but we were never told much about them, except their affection for goldfish or their interest in breeding squirrels. It is a strange society; if private affairs are made public, it is only fair to say that public affairs are kept quite private.

As it is, I could only tell you what you have read and forgotten, and the only other obvious thing would be to describe what I myself have done during the week, which I have forgotten myself. Some vague memories remain, which might be made to sound vivid by unscrupulous selection.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For instance, it would be perfectly true to say that I spent most of last Sunday, after going to Mass, in making practical plans and arrangements for a murder. Indeed, it was a double murder, and, as both the murdered men were millionaires, I deeply grieve to announce that the plan was not actually carried into practice. But, then, it was not an honest manly murder in real life, but a sneakish, evasive, make-believe murder, only meant for a murder story in a magazine. But on the whole, I think any such diary of my days would be very dull to read and to write—which is probably why I never write it.

Now I would ask your attention to a third aspect of the thing, which has nothing to do with the loud triviality that we call public life or the loose triviality that we now generally mean by private life. It is not concerned with public life or private life but with Life. And it seems to me that Life is the one thing that most modern men never think about all their lives. We are asked to consider what has happened in seven days. Some of the most aged among you were told, a long while ago, that the world was made in six days. Most of you are now told that modern science contradicts this, a statement that is certainly much more of a lie than the statement it contradicts. It also shows that what these people call their modern science is not very modern.

The ancient science, the Victorian science of the days of Darwin, did indeed entertain a queer idea that anything was credible so long as it came very slowly. As if we were to say we could believe in a hippogryph if a horse grew only one feather at a time, or in a unicorn if its horn was not too rapidly exalted but began as a little knob like a pimple. But that is not modern science, whatever else it is.

The real modern science, the new science—for what that is worth—tends more and more to an idea of mystical mathematical design, which may well be outside time. So far as the latest science goes, the cosmos might have appeared in six days, or in six seconds, or more probably in minus six seconds, or perhaps in the square root of minus six. But I am not at all insisting on any literal six days; it is not required by my own creed; and I am not talking about anybody's creed. I am talking about the very grand ideas suggested by that symbol—of the creative power being for six days creative and for the seventh contemplative. For the true end of all creation is completion; and the true end of all completion is contemplation.

Heaven forbid that, in the present unenlightened state of the world, I should talk theology. But why have modern men got no sense even of the majesty of mythology? Let us regard the Genesis story as a myth, but let us treat it as educated people do treat any other myth. When we read that Prometheus, the Titan, stole fire from Heaven for mankind, we do not say a giant was a thief who stole Jupiter's match box on Mount Olympus. When we read that the whole world went into a winter of lamentation because the Earth Goddess had lost her daughter, we do not say that those superstitious Greeks thought an old witch could wither the corn. We have some sense of the grandeur of these great natural allegories. And why have we no sense of the grandeur of that conception by which a week has become a wonderful and mystical

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thing, in which man imitates God in his labor and in his rest?

I want to put to you what is hardest of all to put in words—something that is more private than private life. It is the fact that we are alive and that life is far more astonishing than anything that we enjoy or suffer in life. What has really happened during the last seven days and nights? Seven times we have been dissolved into darkness as we shall be dissolved into dust; our very selves, so far as we know, have been wiped out of the world of living things; and seven times we have been raised alive like Lazarus and found all our limbs and senses unaltered with the coming of the day. That one simple fact of sleep is an almost perfect example of the sort of thing I mean. It is far more sensational than any fact or falsehood that can be read in the newspapers. It is far more sensational than any scandalous secret I might reveal to your delighted ears about my own private life.

If you want important events, such as journalism is supposed to report, those are the important events. If you want the latest news, the latest news is that I died last night and that I was miraculously reborn this morning, to your no small annoyance, for I fear that my return from the dead, though it is certainly news, is not necessarily good news. But what weeks and dates and Sundays and sabbaths and ancient ritual recurrences are meant to remind us of is exactly this enormous importance of daily life as it is lived by every human being, as it is related to death, and daylight, and all the mysterious lot of Man.

To tell you that I have performed this or that silly action, such as making a speech like this, might gratify my vanity. To tell you that the leading public men who control our destinies have performed this or that silly action might gratify my irritation. But neither has very much to do with my life, and neither has anything to do with that great revolving wheel of cosmic light and darkness that we call a week.

And now you will naturally say that all this is extremely vague and transcendental and unpractical. I answer with some violence that it is at this moment by far the most practical problem in the world. Unless we can bring men back to enjoying the daily life, which moderns call a dull life, our whole civilization will be in ruins in about fifteen years. Whenever anybody proposes anything really practical to solve the economic evil to-day, the answer always is that the solution would not work, because the modern town populations would think life dull. That is because they are entirely unacquainted with life. They know nothing but distractions from life, dreams that may be found in the cinema, that is, brief oblivions of life.

II

I am not going to talk about the advantages of this or that social solution, but it is true that this is the standing difficulty of all social solutions. Some people, like the late Mr. Galsworthy, think that the English poor should be helped further to colonize the Colonies. Some, of whom I am one, have even dared to dream that the English might be allowed to colonize England. But to both the objection is always essentially this: that they would be six miles from a cinema.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is perhaps true, and another way of putting the same truth is that modern men have utterly lost the joy of life. They have to put up with the miserable substitute for the joys of life. And even these they seem less and less able to enjoy. Unless we can make ordinary men interested in ordinary life, we are under the vulgar despotism of those who cannot interest them but can at least amuse them. Unless we can make daybreak and daily bread and the creative secrets of labor interesting in themselves, there will fall on all our civilization a fatigue, which is the one disease from which civilizations do not recover. So died the great Pagan civilization—of bread and circuses and forgetfulness of the household gods.

So, whatever you do, do not jeer at the Book of Genesis. It would be better for you, it would be better for all of us if we were so absolutely bound by the Book of Genesis that the whole week was a series of symbolic services, reminding us of the stages of creation. It would be better if every Monday, instead of being Black Monday, were always Bright Monday to commemorate the creation of the light. It would be better if Tuesday, at present a word of somewhat colorless connotation, represented a great feast of fountains and rivers and rolling streams, because it was the day of the division of the waters. It would be better if every Wednesday were an occasion for hanging the house with green boughs or blossoms, because these things were brought forth on the third day of creation; or that Thursday were sacred to the sun and moon; and Friday sacred to the fish and fowl; and so on. Then you might begin to have some notion of the importance of a week and what a high imaginative civilization might really do with a week. If it had the creative power to produce such a pageant of creation, it would not bother about cinemas.

II. How Long Can Man Live?

By Professor Dr. Walter Weisbach

Translated from *Pester Lloyd*, Budapest German-language Daily

IT FILLS us with pride that the average life span of our whole population increases at almost breakneck speed from year to year. Whereas in 1800 the average life span amounted to only twenty-seven years, it has risen to-day to fifty-six. In other words, it has more than doubled in a little over a hundred years. This success is largely due to strenuous attacks on epidemics and infant mortality.

A few figures on the vital statistics outside Europe show what a dangerous rôle these two forces play in lowering the average expectancy of life, especially where urban industrial influences have not intervened. Among the Arabian Wahabees, for instance, 75 to 80 per cent of the children do not survive their first year because of the great number of contagious diseases, especially small pox. According to H. St. John Philby's descriptions of Arabia, old men are great rarities there. Elbert's expedition to Sunda

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

revealed that only 2.2 per cent of the people of Lombok live to be more than fifty. In Bima on Sumbawa 51 per cent of the people die before they reach the age of seventeen, 23 per cent before they are thirty, 16 per cent before they are fifty, and the remaining 10 per cent before they are sixty. Plehn's researches in Kamerun show that the average life span does not come to more than 40 years there and that infant mortality is particularly severe. Out of 45 children born of 19 different mothers, two died at birth, eight died within two to eight days, one within ten days, six more within fourteen days, and two within a month. Three children died within one or two months, two more within a year, one died at the age of twelve, and six before they had reached twenty. Out of these 45 children born to 19 different mothers, only 14 reached maturity.

II

Mansfeld's researches in the jungle and the work of Nordenskiöld among Indians and Whites reveal similar tendencies. The latter reckoned the proportion of children in the total deaths of southern Bolivia during 1906 at 69 per cent, and in 1907 at 58.9 per cent. The disastrous effect of epidemics makes itself felt especially in British India, and Ronaldshay's book, *A Bird's Eye View of India*, states that since 1896 ten and a half million people have died of the bubonic plague and that in the year 1918 about seven million died of influenza. In Bengal alone 350,000 to 400,000 people die of malaria each year.

The limited food supplies on many of the South Sea islands and the hard work that women and mothers have to do in other parts of the world have given the false impression that it is advantageous to the progeny to keep the total population as low as possible. Elbert found that on one island in the South Seas 64.1 per cent of the families had only one child, 29.2 per cent of the families had between two and three children, and 5.7 per cent of the families had between four and five children. Yet in spite of the relatively small number of children and the resulting possibility of giving them better care, we find a very short life span in these places.

Compared with such figures, an average life of 56 years represents a tremendous advance. But we must not forget that even if the individual lives a long time a whole nation cannot live to an old age if it is not able to support numerous offspring. In other words, the longer life of the individual means nothing if he ages as rapidly as ever and becomes incapable of work long before his natural life has ended.

Hufeland has stated that as a rule the life of any individual is eight times as long as the period required for complete growth. Since the average man reaches maturity between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, this would mean that man ought to live between 144 and 200 years. But even if the fact that men take a long time to reach maturity inclines us to estimate human life at five times this period, we should be justified in expecting a life of between 90 to 125 years.

Definite observations possessing real validity can be made concerning the growth and perpetuation of the human race, but the peculiarity of each individual depends upon not irrelevant vacillations within the usual limits. One man lives more

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rapidly than another, and various signs of progress or retrogression appear sooner or show themselves more obviously in certain individuals than in others. This difference between individuals becomes more and more evident as the life span lengthens. Since a greater number of older people are now alive because of the great advance in the average life span, a great many people want to stave off the more or less unpleasant features of old age as much as possible.

In order to succeed in this we must resort to every method to keep our bodies and mental powers fresh and capable of activity. In pursuance of this aim, we must direct our attention, on the one hand, to the natural and gradual exhaustion of our body and, on the other hand, to the cultivation of conditions that will preserve it as long as possible. Nature prescribes for the conduct of our individual lives in very rough outline. Our task is to prolong to the utmost certain periods, primarily the period of maturity, with a view to postponing the last period as long as possible. Proper understanding of the influence of certain life periods on our physical form can go far toward assuring a rich store of surplus energy to be used during the period when we enjoy our fullest physical powers. Childhood is the period of nourishment, youth the period of movement, maturity and age the period of experience. The happy life begins with the stomach and ends with the head. Childhood, as Stratz has said, is the period of nourishment: 'Food that is not consumed is stored in the form of fat. A round, full figure thus develops. The torso grows larger, the limbs remain short and stout, the joints do not stand out conspicuously. During youth, in the second decade, the stomach grows thinner, the chest widens, the limbs lengthen—more in boys than in girls—but the childish figure still remains. Not until the third decade do the essential differences between the powerful, muscular, masculine type and the graceful, rounded, feminine form begin to appear. Overexercise when one is at the height of one's physical powers develops too much muscle, and overeating develops too much fat, which so many people begin to put on during this period. The signs of age—weakening muscles, sagging fat under the skin, and angular joints—need not occur before the seventieth year.'

People to-day often speak of the so-called diseases of wear and tear, which many of us face helplessly at a certain age. High blood pressure is one of these illnesses—a result of the hardening of the arteries. This gradual hardening means that the body is protecting itself against the tendency of the arteries to give way. The stiffening of the walls of the arteries makes it harder for the blood to circulate. The heart needs more power than in earlier years to pump the same amount of blood through the body. In consequence, with advancing age we tend to confine our attention more and more to the heart. Proper care of this one organ could eliminate many of the dangers of old age.

From a purely practical point of view, this means that as we grow older we should avoid eating too much, drinking too much, overstraining our muscles, and, above all, riding a bicycle up hill, running fast, and similar strenuous occupations. But it is also important to continue all physical activity to which we were

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

accustomed in the prime of life as long as possible. Walking is therefore the best possible exercise for older men, and nobody is ever too old for it. Swimming or riding are also good for those who are used to them. Light gardening can be indulged in to the greatest advantage, even at an old age. Anyone who wants to remain active as long as possible must always be conscious of the fact that only active organs can remain healthy.

III. The Price of Happiness

By Paul Valéry

From the *Saturday Review*, London Conservative Weekly

HAPPINESS is a word that has been clothed with all sorts of magic qualities. It is one of those suggestive and illusive words that no two persons would define in the same way, since it is entirely a subjective matter. Happiness has always been held out as a bait to humanity by politicians or reformers who wished thereby either to win the support of men or to inculcate them with their own doctrines. In the pursuit of happiness men, but more especially women, have achieved the most unheard-of things. Its appeal is as instantaneous, especially for women, as a piece of meat that one dangles before a bird of prey.

The capacity for happiness depends entirely on physical condition and the measure of vigor and sensibility that a man or woman possesses, which renders him or her impervious to any other outside influence. There is no doctrine of happiness, for happiness is but an accident and nothing more. Nevertheless, we all possess the faculty of making a doctrine out of such accidental phenomena. Happiness in this way becomes a mirage of sensibility.

The transient quality of happiness is, however, very marked, because one of the essential properties of sensibility is that it tends to disturb internal equilibrium at every moment. We appear to possess an ever-present capacity of creating a sense of internal irritation that is so strong that the state of happiness that we feel is often suddenly converted into unrest without there being any apparent reason for it. It is this latent power of producing internal irritation that accounts, for instance, for one's turning over in bed when one is really perfectly comfortable and happy in one position.

Actually, happiness is so ephemeral in character that, even when external conditions and the general state of the mind are at peace and in harmony, it often happens that this sense of happiness is suddenly dissolved, a more intense power and feeling of unrest taking its place spontaneously. Man, in short, always engenders a sufficiency of disruptive forces to dispel the state of calm and peace that he happens to possess at any given time. It is at these moments of rude awakening that he faces the problems of life, and this especially applies to the man possessed of creative instincts. In the latter case the mirage of happiness rarely endures more than a fleeting minute, and it goes almost as quickly as it appears. Happiness is conse-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quently an illusion that no man can maintain for long.

Happiness again is abnormal because it is incompatible with action—which is the spring of life. For when we are happy there is a break in creative action, and the world almost stops still. . . . It is a lull that we all welcome, but subconsciously we must realize that it is abnormal.

How often have we not heard people dilating on the tranquil happiness of the creature that does nothing and lives a negative life? And has not the cow, for instance, often been envied for her apparent stolid content. Yet I very much question whether even the bovine species are really as happy as they seem, just as it is not proved that the country lout who has never left his native village is as contented as people say he is. Happiness may be an accident, but it certainly requires imagination.

My conviction is that if there be happiness—or, rather, a mirage that at times submerges our consciousness—it is attained only after great toiling and even suffering. The essence of life is creation, whatever the form we may give to it, and this creation implies perhaps even more pain than childbearing. We must, then, all suffer, for even the least creative man takes a part in the rhythmic creation of existence, and it is only after—or, rather, in the very moment that—we seem to achieve the goal of that creation that we momentarily achieve happiness. In all probability we should never be conscious of it if a long period of suspense and agony had not preceded the culminating moment of realization.

This is my opinion of happiness—that misleading term, which has become a cliché and an idol in the modern world. But whatever conclusion we may come to about happiness, it will continue to-morrow as to-day and yesterday to remain the supreme goal of humanity. It is purely a personal problem, and as no system can be devised to bring it within the reach of the generality of men it is idle to pass judgment on its value or significance. Any opinion on happiness is therefore of no import. Yet we shall always continue dreaming happy dreams and blinding ourselves to its real character. Happiness, then, is one of those pleasing images of the mind that will always sway the imagination of the world.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Revolution, not war, is on the cards for Europe where Fascism is spreading to-day as the Counter-Reformation spread during the sixteenth century and Counter-Revolution during the nineteenth.

EUROPE *in* Revolution

By THE EDITOR OF THE LIVING AGE

RECENT events in France and Austria—and who knows where the lightning will strike next?—have drawn attention to the critical condition of Europe. Italy's dispatch of troops to the Austrian frontier was reminiscent of the mobilizations of 1914, and the street fighting in Paris recalled the French Revolution. But in neither case did the threat of war or revolution materialize. Dollfuss proceeded to set up a Fascist state, and Doumergue organized the most reactionary cabinet that has held office in France since the conservative parties were voted out of office in 1932. In short, France and Austria show symptoms of moving in the same direction as Germany shortly before Hitler came into power. Will the rest of Europe follow suit? In England the Labor Party collapsed two and a half years ago; in Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland Fascism is gaining ground. If Europe is now repeating Germany's recent history, does not present-day Germany foreshadow the Europe of to-morrow?

Not only is Germany the geographic and economic keystone; its own varied resources make it a kind of miniature Europe facing on a national scale the same problems that the Continent faces on an international scale. Although both Germany and Europe are primarily industrial areas, Germany's farm population of 25 per cent can grow most of the food the nation needs, just as Eastern Europe can grow most of the food that Western Europe needs. First the World War and then the world depression spread distress everywhere, but no country suffered more severely from these two catastrophes than Germany. Many nations had to devaluate their currencies; only Germany, Austria, and Hungary inflated 100 per cent. For

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

several centuries the European middle classes had been growing in numbers and influence until the events of the past twenty years rocked them to their foundations. But nowhere did these classes multiply more rapidly or suffer more severely than they did in Germany. European population growth and German population growth waxed and waned together, and in Germany, as in other European countries, liberalism, democracy, and socialism have gone into a dangerous decline.

To-day England, France, and many of the smaller European nations face the same crises that preceded Hitler's rise to power. Some years ago Germany coined the word 'autarchy,' and now both England and France have resorted to tariffs and quotas in order to make themselves more self-sufficient. England's ablest Cabinet member, Major Walter Elliot, has been given the job of rescuing British agriculture and strengthening the conservative British farmer, just as Walter Darré is trying to restore the German peasantry and thus build up a rural bulwark to preserve the Third Reich. When German industry was drifting toward bankruptcy during the late nineteen-twenties, Fritz Thyssen and other magnates began contributing to Hitler's campaign funds in the hope that he would save their property from confiscation by the state. In 1931 the Comité des Forges added the *Temps* to its other newspaper properties and steadily opposed the mildly socialistic tendencies of Herriot, Daladier, Paul-Boncour, Chautemps, and Sarraut. In England two large fortunes, those of Lord Rothermere and Lady Houston, have lately come to the support of Sir Oswald Mosley's Fascist movement, which opposes the few vestiges of liberalism that the National Government still maintains.

II

The manœuvrings of demagogues and industrialists, their attempts to promote economic nationalism by tariffs and quotas, their campaigns against democracy, their efforts to set up state capitalism instead of state socialism indicate that the same revolution that came to a head in the Hitler movement is at work elsewhere. New means of production have created new class alignments, and all Europe now appears to be in the throes of the same kind of universal convulsion that produced the Reformation, the French Revolution, and the uprisings of 1848. In short the issue of Fascism has begun to arise everywhere.

To compare the alignment of parties and classes in present-day Germany with the alignment in 1919 is to visualize the changes that have made possible the growth of Fascism throughout Europe. In January, 1919, before the Communist Party had come into existence, the German Socialists won 45.5 per cent of the popular vote and gained possession of the apparatus of government. By 1932 the Socialist vote had fallen to 21.9 per cent, and the combined Socialist and Communist vote amounted to only 36.6 per cent, as compared with 37.9 per cent for the National Socialists. And now let us look at what has happened in other countries. In 1917 the Bolshevists seized power in Russia, and in 1922 Mussolini's Fascists, aided by foreign loans, staved off a Communist revolution in Italy. In other words, the country that had

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suffered most from the War went Communist, the strongest of the defeated powers went Socialist, and the Allied nation that had gained least from the War was saved from Communism only by foreign financial aid during a period of world recovery. Even in victorious France and England the parties of the working class won two victories since the War. In 1924 and 1932 the Radicals, Radical Socialists, Socialists, and Communists captured a majority of seats in the French Chamber of Deputies, and in 1924 and 1929 the Labor and Liberal Parties captured a majority of seats in the British House of Commons. But the rout of the British Labor Party in the 1931 elections and the recent riots in Paris suggest that class and party alignments in France and England are undergoing the same shift that has occurred in Germany.

Whereas the havoc wrought by the War swelled the votes of the working class throughout Europe, the havoc wrought by the depression has swelled the votes of middle-class groups, and the experience of Germany suggests that these parties have been growing more rapidly than the working-class groups. But the Fascist movement has been strengthened by other factors than the increasing army of clerks, shopkeepers, salesmen, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and officials for whom improved technology has created jobs. The working class split into extremist and moderate groups—Socialists and Communists in France and Germany, the Independent Labor Party and the Labor Party in England, the Anarchists and Socialists in Spain. At the same time, the industrialists, landowners, and financiers have tried to unify the middle classes into a single party to fight Marxism, Socialism, Communism, Internationalism, everything, in short, that is inimical to private property. Thus the Third Reich of the Nazis is just as much the creation of the Social-Democratic Republic as the Counter-Reformation was the fruit of the Reformation. During and after the War a wave of revolution spread from one European country to another with varying intensity. To-day it has been followed by its antithesis—a wave of counter-revolution.

III

Because Fascism won a comparatively easy victory in Germany, Hitler is generally conceded a long lease of life, and the spread of Fascism is taken almost for granted. But just as the German Socialists lost control of the state by relying on democratic methods, so the Nazis may lose control by relying on a dictatorship. At the time of the Kapp Putsch in 1923 the workers of Germany showed that by a general strike they could prevent any group that they opposed from seizing power. That weapon they still possess, for the functions they perform in the community give them absolute control of its vital necessities. Thus the greatest threat to the Hitler régime lies in the possibility of united working-class opposition, even though that class may no longer represent a majority of the nation.

The general strike of the French Socialists and Communists and the armed resistance of the Austrian Socialists indicate that even in countries where the proportion of industrial workers is much smaller than it is in Germany, middle-class Fascist groups

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cannot count on victory. All that we can be sure of now is that the middle classes of Europe have shown themselves capable of more united action than the working class. Nor does a single year of Nazi rule in Germany prove that the owning class can count on the middle classes to support all its schemes indefinitely.

Take, for instance, the question of war. Numerous articles in THE LIVING AGE and elsewhere have made it abundantly clear that the 'men behind Hitler,' the big German industrialists, are rearming Germany as rapidly as possible. But Hitler himself gives every indication of being opposed to war, not only on personal grounds but because he is fully alive to the danger of arming a large proportion of the German people and ordering them to die for the Fatherland. As for the alternative to mass mobilization, Bernard Shaw has given this fanciful description of the air raids that may take the place of infantry and artillery attacks if the nations of Europe decide to fight:—

'Are we, then, to be exterminated by fleets of bombing airplanes that will smash our water mains, cut our electric cables, turn our gas supplies into flame throwers, and bathe us and our babies in liquid mustard gas from which no masks can save us? Well, if we are it will serve us right, for it will be our own doing. But let us keep our heads. It may not work out in that way. For what is it that happens when a single soldier finds himself face to face with a dozen of the enemy? He puts up his hands and demands quarter. What is it that happens when a body of troops finds itself hopelessly outnumbered and surrounded? It surrenders. What will London do when it finds itself approached by a crowd of airplanes capable of destroying it in half an hour? London will surrender. White flags and wireless messages, "Don't drop your bombs: we give in," will fill the air. But our own air squadrons will have already started to make the enemies' capitals surrender. From Paris to Moscow, from Stockholm to Rome, the white flags will go up in every city. All the navies will strike their colors; ransoms and reparations and indemnities will cancel each other after a squabble in Geneva; and the most disgraceful and inglorious war on record will peter out in general ridicule.'

In view of the success with which the armament makers prolonged the last war by preventing the bombardment of a few industrial centres, this may be too optimistic a view, but at least it suggests that the danger of war in Europe may be somewhat exaggerated. Furthermore, the lines of struggle are tending to set classes and parties in motion rather than nations. Already the Italian Fascists are supporting the Austrian Heimwehr, the German Nazis have broadcast appeals to their brothers in Austria, the Rumanian Iron Guard has received money and arms from Germany and Italy, the Soviet Union has conferred Russian citizenship on the three Bulgarian Communists imprisoned in Berlin, Sir Oswald Mosley has entertained two of Hitler's Storm Troopers in London, and Communists of every country have been sending money to their German comrades.

With so much internal discontent and with certain nations primarily Fascist (Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Poland), others primarily democratic (France, Eng-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

land, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, the Scandinavian states), and still others scarcely nations at all (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Albania), war may nevertheless occur for one of two reasons. Some nations may resort to it in order to forestall revolution at home; others may resort to it as a consequence of revolution. But it is revolution, the conflict between hostile classes, rather than war, the conflict between hostile states, that gives rise to most of the disorder in Europe to-day. And this disorder arises from the three universal tendencies outlined above. First, new methods of production have provided new jobs for the middle class and displaced many industrial workers; second, the industrial workers have split into two groups, whereas the middle classes have shown greater unity; third, the depression has driven all classes in all countries to resort increasingly to violence.

Turning again to Germany, let us observe the results of these three tendencies. Two books by an American engineer, Sidney A. Reeve,—*Modern Economic Tendencies*, published in 1920, and *Natural Laws of Social Convulsion*, published a year ago,—help to account for the growth of the middle class on which the Hitler movement is based. In *Modern Economic Tendencies*, Mr. Reeve estimated that in 1850 four men in the United States were engaged in the production of wealth to every one who was engaged in its distribution. By 1920, however, the number engaged in production and distribution became equal. In his *Natural Laws of Social Convulsion*, Mr. Reeve pointed out that most of the tremendous increase of productive power that has occurred in the last eighty years has not been used to add to our supply of real wealth but has been dissipated more and more into non-productive channels. 'The gold dollar, originally (1850) worth 70 cents at the retail-shop counter, became worth only 30 cents in 1900, 17 cents in 1920, and so probably not over 12 to 15 cents to-day.' Elsewhere, he states: 'In these tendencies America leads; but the entire world is in her train.'

Notably Germany. For although the dissipation of Germany's productive power has never been analyzed, as Mr. Reeve has analyzed the productive power of the United States, the numerical growth of the German middle class, as reflected in the growth of the National-Socialist Party, provides the clearest possible proof that the dominance of that class in Germany as in America rests primarily on the non-productive jobs that modern technology has created for it. What has happened is that fewer and fewer industrial workers have been creating the wealth on which more and more members of the middle classes were living—not as handsomely as in the United States, but after a fashion. Indeed, Hitler has succeeded in organizing a private army of over one million Storm Troopers drawn almost exclusively from non-productive groups, and these men aided by the smaller and more competent Reichswehr, on the one hand, and supported by millions of incompetent petty bourgeois, on the other, have reduced the minority of productive German workers to a state of bondage.

Edmund Burke declared against indicting a whole people, but he never said that any class, however large, could be held guiltless. Under the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Roman Empire a few landowners, a highly trained army, and an equally unproductive city rabble made and destroyed emperors, living all the while on the labor of peasants and slaves. A similar community of interest is being established in Germany to-day between the police, the Reichswehr, the Storm Troops, a vast white-collar proletariat, and a small owning class. Now, as in the time of the Romans, a small owning class receives a disproportionate share of the wealth, bribes the army and the rabble with a dole, and, since the productive power of the world has been multiplied many times over, a smaller proportion of the people can produce a sufficiency of goods. Not only are the real producers in a less favorable numerical position than the Roman slaves and peasants were, the entire community does not live so close to the starvation level. True, the centralization of modern industry gives the workers certain strategic advantages, but because the owning and middle classes fear this danger they are making frantic efforts to establish first in Germany and then throughout Europe a form of society for which no parallel can be found since the time of the late Cæsars. Perhaps it was such a possibility that John Maynard Keynes had in mind when he said that the last depression like the present one ushered in the Dark Ages. Perhaps Fascism is merely another name for the barbarism that the disciples of Marx maintain is the only alternative to Communism.

IV

So much for Fascism—the rule of plutocrats and demagogues backed by the white-collar proletariat; now for its antithesis—rule by the productive workers. Two parties, one Socialist, the other Communist, attempted to establish such a rule in Germany, and their failure has quite as much bearing on the future of Europe as the success of the Fascists, since it is merely the other side of the same coin. In August, 1914, the German Social Democrats, representing the Second (Socialist) International, voted with the Prussian Junkers to extend war credits. Again, during the revolution of 1918, they did not confiscate the property of their declared enemies, the industrialists and landowners. Finally, in the spring of 1932, they supported as head of the Republic that they had created Paul von Hindenburg, ex-Field Marshal and Prussian landowner. Nor is the ludicrous record of the Second International confined to Germany. In 1931, Ramsay MacDonald, Philip (now Lord) Snowden, and Jimmy Thomas, the leaders of the British Labor Party and as such the chief British representatives of the Second International, scrambled aboard the bandwagon of the dole-cutting, battleship-building National Government, several of whose members had publicly denounced them as traitors during the War. And Dr. Otto Bauer, leader of the heroic Social Democrats of Austria offered, before he fled into exile, to hand over the administration of the country to the Dollfuss dictatorship.

Will the German workers now turn in disgust from the Second to the Third International? The record of the German Communists under the Republic is not wholly reassuring. By voting with the Nazis to oust the Socialist administration of Prussia in 1931, the Communists alienated many

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

potential sympathizers, and their policy of creating unions of their own side by side with the Socialist unions caused dissension in the working class and ended in complete fiasco when the Communist call for a general strike in January, 1933, met with no response. Rightly or wrongly, the suspicion persists that Communist tactics are dictated not by local conditions but by Moscow, which has even been accused of sabotaging the proletarian revolution in Germany on the ground that it would damage the interests of the Soviet Union. The point here is not whether these charges are justified; the point is that Moscow leadership in and of itself breeds doubt and confusion. The personal heroism of Torgler, Dimitroff, Taneff, and Popoff at the Reichstag fire trial has gone far to redeem the prestige of the Communist cause in Germany, and the underground activity of the Party contrasts sharply with the behavior of those Socialists who have accepted posts under the Nazi régime.

The real difficulty, however, lies less with the Communist Party than with the unavoidable split in the working class—unavoidable because a similar split has occurred in other countries where the Communists made much less headway than they did in Germany. On the one hand, a bureaucracy of trade-union officials and politicians—such men as MacDonald, Henderson, Thomas, and Snowden in England—has made a place for itself by exacting important concessions from the existing social order during the last thirty years; on the other hand, new leaders have arisen with no vested interests—men like James Maxton, Fenner Brockway, and John McGovern—who have encouraged hunger marches, unemployed demonstrations, and direct action with a view toward violent revolution. The spread of the Fascist counter-revolution throughout Europe therefore depends on whether enough younger, more radical leaders can fill the positions vacated by their more timid elders.

But the radical parties have no monopoly on youthful leaders or violent policies. For the past fifteen years the entire younger generation in Germany has been virtually excluded from economic activity, and the utter hopelessness created by a deepening crisis has given it no alternative to violence. In consequence, the class antagonisms that always existed have led to more and more bloodshed. Because scores were killed in Paris and hundreds in Vienna during February, we have perhaps forgotten that the half-dozen years that preceded Hitler's rise to power saw several Germans die each week in sporadic street fighting. And the thousands of anonymous victims of the Nazi terror reveal that the German civil war has not yet ended.

The one war danger that Europe faces to-day is that the entire Continent may presently be torn by the same class struggle now under way in Germany. And whether the combat is waged between nations or classes, its impetus will come from the younger generation. British students whose fathers fought in France, perhaps with the gallant First Hundred Thousand, vote that they will not bear arms in defense of King and country; others join Oswald Mosley's Fascists and organize violent opposition to socialistic groups. The German war veterans despise Hitler's Storm Troops because

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all of them were too young to have fought in the War. In France the younger generation adopts either Communism or Fascism, and the students at the Sorbonne played a leading part in the recent riots. Youth in despair turns inevitably to violence, but there is nothing that inevitably commits the younger European generation to Fascism.

Two historic parallels, one remote in space, the other in time, illustrate the possibilities that confront Europe to-day. Our own Secretary of Agriculture has just written a pamphlet, *America Must Choose*, in which he points out that the United States must soon decide whether to adopt a policy of economic self-sufficiency, a policy of international trade, or a compromise. Europe faces the same triple-horned dilemma, but in Europe economic self-sufficiency means Fascism, free exchange of goods means Communism, and a compromise means a return to the liberal, parliamentary, democratic world of 1929. And, if it is clear to Americans that any one of the three choices Mr. Wallace suggests means revolutionary changes, how much more evident it is that Europe is in the throes of revolution, too.

Or consider the state of Europe a century ago when the Napoleonic Wars had produced many of the same symptoms that followed the World War. In 1830 as in 1934, there was fighting in the streets of Paris, and the frontiers of Holland and Belgium were altered just as the frontiers of Central and Southeastern Europe are likely to be redrawn to-day. But the uprisings of 1830 and of 1848 did not divide the entire European continent into two armed camps. They were no more comparable to the Napoleonic Wars than the present disturbances are comparable to the World War. During the nineteenth century a series of revolutions and counter-revolutions led to the gradual victory of liberalism throughout Europe—a liberalism that left the industrialist and banker free as the air. The twentieth century seems likely to witness a similar series of revolutions and counter-revolutions in behalf of socialism—a socialism that will remove the ownership of industry from private hands. That is the struggle in Europe to-day; its name is not war but revolution.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

While James Joyce's *Ulysses* is at last being published over here, foreign critics are concerning themselves with his latest production, *Work in Progress*.

The *Third* Mr. Joyce

By Ronald Symond

From the *London Mercury*
London Literary Monthly

A WEIRD and unsteady star has swum into the ken of modern literature in the person of the Dublin Wanderer, Mr. James Joyce, whose strange and fascinating voice comes to us over the water in accents that grow more and more bizarre. Twice already has his style undergone changes that are almost tantamount to metamorphoses of the man himself. *Dubliners* and the *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* were plain enough, dressed in English as she is spoken at home. *Ulysses* was written with a different ink and by a different man. Once again has the restless genius said 'good-bye to all that,' and in his latest *Work in Progress* he carries the tendencies that were inherent in *Ulysses* to such fantastic development that the famous odyssey now seems, by comparison, to be written in a style of smooth lucidity.

We have only to read the first sentence from one of the published extracts of this work, *The Mookse and the Gripes*, to realize that here is a voice utterly strange and unique: 'Eins within a space and a weary wide space it wast ere wohned a Mookse.' 'What on earth is this?' asks the common reader; and he will have to keep his nose well down to the text to find an answer for himself. Critics, both English and foreign, have been at work on Mr. Joyce, but none of them can 'place' him. Whether they like his work or not, none can question his uniqueness. There is no possible placing of a composite Gilbert, Lewis Carroll, Rabelais, Dante, Bruno, Dean Swift, Coleridge, Freud, and Vico, who combines this multiplicity of personality with a soft and subtle brogue as Irish as anything that ever came out of Dublin, a sublime indifference to time and space, and a habit of passing in and out of the dreamland of the subconscious as many times as his fancy may dictate.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What a 'zeit for the goths'—to use his own phrase—is this chameleon of literature, who invents his own language as he follows his adventurous path.

All of us have dreams, wherein swift shifts of time and place occur, wherein we make rapid irrational switchings that break up the continuity of imaginary existence, where illusion and magic, parody and poetry, run riot in our strangely liberated minds. Most of us live double lives—one of a devil-apeish Mr. Hyde in the disreputable depths of the unconscious, another of an angel-masquerading Dr. Jekyll within the orbit of our rational consciousness. Writers and poets, for the most part, whatever they may owe to their Mr. Hyde for his researches at the Devil's well-spring of dreamland, take good care that Dr. Jekyll shall duly filter the product through his rational sieve before it is offered to the world. Not so Mr. Joyce.

Is it the rational mind, that small portion of an iceberg that shows itself above water, or is it the whole mass, four-fifths of which is hidden in the tenebrous deep? Whether or not the third Mr. Joyce sees human nature steadily, he certainly sees it whole, in this sense. He is the spokesman of dreamland, the projector of our mental and spiritual chaos in the raw. He deliberately eliminates the rationalizing and filtering process, and, though his technique is meticulously careful and his effects most subtly worked upon, he makes no attempt to speak the language of our waking consciousness. Rather does he deliberately immerse himself in the fairyland of subconscious chaos and let his rich mind run 'amok' on paper with the license of a nightmare. He does not seek, either subjectively or objectively, to impose an order upon the phenomena of experience but allows them to flash by in all their kaleidoscopic confusion. 'You must live in a chaos,' writes Nietzsche, 'if you would give birth to a dancing star.' Mr. Joyce fulfills this requirement to perfection, and, whether or not he has yet created his dancing star, he has assuredly struck sparks that give us pause to wonder.

II

The characters of *Work in Progress*, in keeping with the space-time chaos in which they live, change identity at will. At one time they are persons, at another rivers or stones or trees; at another personifications of an idea, at another they are lost and hidden in the actual texture of the prose with an ingenuity far surpassing that of cross-word puzzles. The male hero is introduced as Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker and the heroine as Anna Livia Plurabelle, but often in the text their changing identities can be recognized only by the recurrence of similar initials or by some bizarre kinship of philological dexterity. H. C. E. appears sometimes as Here Comes Everybody, again as Huges Caput Earlyfowler, Hircus Civis Eblanensis, Etrurian Catholic Heathen, Sir Percy O'Reilly (Earwicker = pierce-ear = perce-oreille = Percy O'Reilly), Sant Pursy Orelli, Haveth Childers Everywhere, Her Chuff Exsquire, Hocus Crocus Esquilocus, etc. A. L. P., the River Liffey (*amnis Livia*) of many beauties, reappears as Annushka Lutetiavitch Pufflovah, Auld Lettie Plussiboots, etc. In the text itself they are reintro-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

duced by the weirdest methods of suggestion: 'House-father calls enthreatingly,' 'truly deplurabel,' 'Howarden's Castle, Englandwales,' 'Quanty purty bellas here, Madama Lifay,' 'Hip-hip Champouree . . . Anneliuia!'

The story of Anna Livia is perhaps the best known of the extracts that have been published in England. In this curious and baffling prose poem the entire text, from beginning to end, is charged with the hidden names of rivers, introduced by distortion of common words in such bewildering profusion as to give the context a fishy and watery flavor. Not only hundreds of river names but all the vocabulary of the waterside is inextricably jumbled in the medium of speech. The hero marries the heroine: 'For mine ether duck I thee drake,' says this worthy, 'and by my wildgaze I thee gander.' Echoes of every kind of phrase and fable, distortions of well-known quotations, nursery rhymes, or familiar incantations fall on the ear from every page. For the heroine, whether she be 'sauntering by silva-moonlake' or sinking 'neathe the ground with nymphant shame,' one thing is constant—namely, that 'sea-shell ebb music wayriver she flows.'

Similar phrase echoes, after passing through the punmaster's fantastic filter, come to us in every sort of grotesque guise. Here are a few with which the reader may amuse himself:—

> For a burning would is come to dance inane.
> You cannot wake a silken noise out of a hoarse oar.
> Grant sleep in hour's time, O Loud!
> Mookery mooks it's a grippe of his gripes.
> Thou shalt not gomeet madhowlattrees.
> In the waste of all peacable worlds.
> The play-thou schowburgst, Game, here endeth. The curtain drops by deep request.

Another favorite trick of the author is to convey meanings additional to those of the literal sense. By distorting the words in a phrase, he introduces a supplementary motif, blending two or more associations. Let us take an example and see what we can make of it. Mr. Joyce tells us, of a rascally fellow named Glugger, that 'he dooly redecant allbigenesis henesies. He proform penance.' Now it appears that this penitent 'recants the Albigensian heresies,' but at the same time there is a suggestion that he 'decants all the Guinness and Henessey's.' Does it mean either, or both, or neither? Does Mr. Joyce wish to imply that the gentleman's repentance was partially dictated by the expansive influence of good Irish liquor and that the *pro forma* penance was just a piece of boozy blarney? Is this why the phrase itself contains a flavor of alcohol, a whiff of the cork? Maybe it is, but what sort of literary fare is this? What will the purist call this doubly flavored pabulum? Neither fish, nor fowl, nor yet plain meat, but 'beef cut with a hammy knife.'

Although the whole of *Work in Progress* is colored throughout by Mr. Joyce's elfish and acrobatic humor and invested everywhere with double and treble meanings or suggestions, there is no characteristically 'joycean' style. The gamut of his effects ranges from jagged staccato to the smoothest and most delicate rhythms. From such phrases as 'Wazut? Izod?' or 'But, O, gihon! I lovat a gabber,' we pass to 'She was a young, thin, pale, soft, shy, slim slip of a thing then, . . . oso sweet and so cool and so

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

limber she looked . . .' with its delicious lilt and fairy elegance. As an example of Mr. Joyce's cadence I will take the liberty of quoting one charming paragraph in full:—

> But who comes yond with pire on pole-top? He who relights our spearing torch, the moon. And the hag they damename Coverfew hists from her lane. And haste, 't is time for bairns ta hame. Chickchilds, comeho to roo. Comehome to roo, wee chickchilds doo, when the wildwerewolf's abroad. Ah, let's away and let's gay and let's stay chez where the log foyer's burning!

Here, indeed, is How Cinquevalli Exhibits with all the grace of Anna Lovely Pavlova. And where can we see this amazing performance, where philological acrobat and puckish poet come on the stage like Siamese twins? Let Mr. Joyce answer the question himself: 'Every evening at lighting-up o'clock sharp and until further notice in Feenichts Playhouse.' Mr. Joyce can blow so well for us upon the horns of elfland that we are forced to join in his laughter, be it of goblins or of gods. He is a fellow of infinite jest, well able to bear us on his back a thousand times and set us bubbling over with his quips and cranks.

But what does all this jesting mean? Mr. Joyce laughs at *everything*. He is sometimes sombre, sometimes crude, but never serious. He can hearken to the still sad music of humanity and reproduce it with most touching delicacy. But always, always there is present that almost inhuman genius of humor. Mr. Joyce could outdo Hamlet. He could hold up his own skull and jest about it. His whole universe is a great phantasmagorial comedy, and he the great prophet of the comic sense of life. But methinks this prophet doth protest too much. There must be deep unshed tears behind all this uninterrupted laughter—he would not be human else. This most sensitive of men, brave voyager in the dark depths of human consciousness, must know and feel something of the wholly tragic, must have corners of his consciousness that are too serious for speech.

III

How, then, are we to appraise or understand the divine and profane peculiarity of Mr. Joyce? His text is obscure beyond all reasonable bounds, but we need make no mistake upon one score—he has colossal gifts. He has at his command a thousand twangling instruments, an encyclopedic scholarship, great depth of poetic feeling, abundant courage, and all the sensibilities of saint and sinner. No living writer has the half of his equipment, and few have dug so deep into the dangerous but fecund depths of dreamland and the subconscious. Is this third stage the final stage of his development, or is there to be yet a fourth Mr. Joyce? Is this fantastic mine of twisted lore, this philologist's medley of the dream life, with its flashes and sparks and liquid lullabies, his last word, or will he pipe to our spirits other ditties of a different tone?

For my part I want to hear a fourth Mr. Joyce. Amazed, amused, and sometimes enchanted, but more often utterly puzzled by the third Mr. Joyce, I rise unsatisfied from *Work in Progress*. I marvel at it but cannot bow down before it. I cannot comfort myself that I am competent to understand one-half of its contents, being insufficiently highbrow for its hybrid scholarship. Nor do I feel that any such accomplishment would add sub-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stantially to my joy in its perusal. But one thing emerges clear. There are potentialities in Mr. Joyce beyond the dreams of Æschylus, together with a craftsmanship unparalleled to-day. Here is a singer who might bring all Heaven before my eyes, dissolve me into ecstasies. *Work in Progress* brings me multicolored chaos, a whirlwind out of which there come dark Rabelaisian rumblings, a laughter as of disembodied goblins, pirouettings of the pixies, and enchanting snatches of flute melody, but out of which there speaks no steady and still small voice that I can hear.

Heaven

By SIEGFRIED SASSOON

From the *Spectator*, London

HEAVEN, through the storm-rent skies of time revealing
Visions designed by man's death-fearing mind
To hallow his carnal heritage with healing.

Heaven, the last word upon their lips for whom
No morning star shall burn, beyond that whisper
Going to look for angels in the gloom.

Heaven, the reward of racked renunciation,
When in the body's broken wayside shrine
The spirit in its ultimate aspiration
Shares the world sacrifice and dies divine.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS ABROAD

GERMANY, PREPARE FOR WAR! *By Professor Ewald Banse. Translated by Alan Harris. London: Lovat Dickson. 1934.*

I WAS A GERMAN. *An Autobiography. By Ernst Toller. Translated by Edward Crankshaw. London: John Lane. 1934.*

(Wickham Steed in the *Sunday Times*, London)

IT IS hard to say which of these two books is the more enlightening. From very different angles they point in the same direction. If Ernst Toller, author of some of the finest modern German plays and a poet to his finger tips, is no longer technically a German (inasmuch as he and thirty-two other distinguished Germans have been deprived of their nationality by Herr Hitler), he was at least born and brought up in Germany, and loved and fought for her with all the strength of his ardent soul. Professor Ewald Banse loves her, too, after his fashion. But while Herr Toller's love did not imply hatred of other peoples, Professor Banse's love is jealous, exclusive, and ferocious. Each has had his reward—Herr Toller in exile and ostracism, Professor Banse in an appointment to the first German Chair of Military Service at the Brunswick High School.

With this appointment the concluding pages of Professor Banse's book, first published in September, 1932, may have had something to do. In them he called upon the German Government to set up a special department for the science of national defense, preferably under the Reichswehr Ministry, to do the scientific spadework for the Central Government and the Army Command and to carry out the training of the German people in national defense. He expressed the hope that this 'mighty and grateful task might soon be undertaken' and 'the right men' chosen to carry it through. A few months later, after the advent of Hitlerism, he himself was chosen to be the first German professor of military science and promptly proved his worth by producing a manual on *Military Science* for schools and universities.

Thus he earned a title to fame. But his manual having attracted attention abroad, it was ostensibly withdrawn by order of the German Government lest it give rise to 'misunderstandings.' Fortunately, or unfortunately, the manual had aroused interest in Professor Banse's earlier works, an English version of one of which, *Raum und Volk im Weltkriege*, now appears in this volume.

A curious story of the efforts made to withhold from English readers the guidance which Professor Banse and others have for years been giving to German youth is told in a 'Publishers' Preface.' It appears that, after I had brought to the notice of the British public the portions of Professor Banse's book that foreshadow a German invasion of England, Mr. Lovat Dickson took steps to acquire the English rights. This he did on the very day when the German Government announced that *Raum und Volk im Weltkriege* had, like the *Military*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Science manual, been banned. On the evening of that day, November 3, 1933, the German publishers of Professor Banse's work seemed to know nothing of the banning of the book and sold the English rights on it without demur. A week later they accepted part payment for them. Then trouble began.

A German gentleman in London approached the English publishers and asked what financial consideration would induce them to refrain from issuing an English version. They mentioned what they described as a 'fantastic sum' in order to test the anxiety of the German Government to suppress the book in England. Undeterred, the German gentleman went to Berlin and invited the English publishers to discuss the matter there. The invitation was declined.

Intimidation was next tried. A German lawyer insisted in a formidable legal document that, since the contract for the English rights had been signed in Germany where the book was banned, it must be regarded as banned in England also and that failure to surrender the contract forthwith would render the English publishers liable for damages under the Berne Copyright Convention. An official German warning was also given that in the future no German publisher would be allowed to have any dealings with the English publishers—'a threat,' the publishers' preface drily observes, 'that loses some of its significance now that many German authors of distinction are refugees from the land of their birth.'

'The sword will come into its own again,' says the learned professor, 'and the pen, after fourteen years of exaggerated prestige, will be put in its place.' And he goes on to explain that in the iron age on the threshold of which we stand the Third German Reich, extending from the Flanders coast to the River Raab, from Memel to the Adige and the Rhône, can only be born in blood and through iron. He shows how it must include German Switzerland and German France (that is to say, French Flanders, Alsace, and Lorraine), German Belgium (or Flanders, Brabant, Eupen, and Malmedy), Luxemburg, and Holland, with the Dutch Colonial Empire.

This attractive thesis is carefully worked out in the various chapters of Professor Banse's book, which, be it remembered, is merely the written record of lectures that he and others have been delivering to German students for years past. The invasion of England, illustrated by a map, is an essential part of the programme, which shows, incidentally, that the function of the Irish Free State 'is merely to back up the main operations that would take place in the east of England.'

Professor Banse is prepared for a certain degree of English resistance, for he writes:—

'The nation will certainly rush to arms as one man and with heroic obstinacy let itself be mown down in front of the line of the Ouse or the chalk and Jurassic hills before it is forced back step by step. But it is questionable whether the English could face starvation. Physically they have been extremely pampered for centuries and would find it very hard to adjust themselves to real privation (such as they never experienced during the War in spite of food cards).'

What has Herr Toller to say on the ideal of war that is daily and nightly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

being instilled into millions of Nazi Storm Troops and, indeed, into the whole youth of Germany? He, at least, volunteered for service at the front on the outbreak of the Great War, fought bravely and gained promotion, was invalided out of the German Army after having learned what war means, and strove, perhaps too poetically, to rebuild Germany on new foundations. He writes that 'the instinct for freedom and voluntary action simply does not exist in Germany. It will take years to erase the imprint of the old militarism.' And in his 'Epilogue: 1933,' after recognizing that once already 'a Germany without plan or reason hurled all Europe into the abyss,' he says of his former fellow countrymen:—

'I see the thousands who celebrate the death of freedom and the overthrow of reason with joy and sounding brass. I see the thousands, betrayed and deluded, who really believe that the kingdom of justice on earth is at hand. I see the thousands who ache to follow in the footsteps of the youth of Flanders and march singing and rejoicing on their way to death.'

Both these books should be read and pondered by all who care to know what may be in store for Europe if Nazi Germany be allowed to go her way unwatched and unchecked.

NEGRO. *Anthology edited by Nancy Cunard. London: Wishart. 1934.*

(Herbert Read in the *Spectator*, London)

A VOLUME of 855 large quarto pages, containing at a moderate estimate about 750,000 words, is no light matter to review; and its very varied contents are beyond the scope of a single reviewer. I can only give the reader a general idea of these contents and then concentrate in more detail on one or two subjects appropriate to the literary pages of the *Spectator*.

The book is essentially a manifesto and a protest. It is a record of the virtues and achievements of the Negro peoples and an outcry against their exploitation, persecution, and ostracism. No fewer than 150 writers of both the black and white races contribute to the volume, which is illustrated with many reproductions of photographs and with maps. There are seven sections, each packed with material of the greatest interest. The first and longest deals in considerable detail with the social and political status of the Negro in America—his history, his mode of life, his education, and his religion. Various aspects of color prejudice are described, various cases of lynching, terrorization, and injustice. The notorious Scottsboro case is dealt with in detail by the editor herself; Theodore Dreiser's incisive speech on the case is reprinted. The political orientation of the Negro toward Communism as the only political programme offering him full social equality is the final note of this section.

The next section is devoted to Negro stars. Robert Goffin, for example, writes on the best Negro jazz orchestras; other articles deal with Florence Mills, Josephine Baker, Negro boxers, Negro dancers, and Negro film stars. Negro music is given more serious consideration in a separate section, which, in addition to several articles on various types of Negro music, includes modern scores by Vance Lowry, W. C. Handy, and Henry Crowder. The fourth section is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an anthology of Negro poetry. The three remaining sections are geographical—West Indies and South America, Europe, Africa—and mainly ethnographical in their interest. The African section includes many fine plates of Negro sculpture. Such is the bare outline of an encyclopedic work, which needed both passion and intelligence to bring to a successful conclusion.

If we try to get the whole material into intelligent perspective, I think we shall find that two main problems are involved—the cultural and the interracial—and that they are not necessarily related to each other. A rather different arrangement of the book—beginning with the history of African empires and civilizations (to some people it will come as a surprise that black civilizations have ever existed and have, in fact, a history as continuous as our own), then investigating the nature and value of the various forms of African culture, passing then to the history of slavery, and concluding with the American scene—would have brought out the fact that the American Negro is culturally a decadent representative of his race, naturally through no fault of his own. He is integral only against his native background, under his native sun, and in contact with his native traditions. If even the white American has not yet assimilated a transported culture to his background, how much more difficult the problem must be for the colored American.

So long as the problem is looked at from the American angle, there will be a tendency to solve it by a compromise—the compromise put forward by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for example, which is severely criticized in this volume as a reactionary organization, and, more serious because more insidious; the social compromise that treats the Negro as a harmless and amusing variation on the human theme, like a white elephant or a black swan—the Black Sambo attitude, we might call it.

Against this attitude René Crevel, in one of the most lively and intelligent contributions to the volume, makes a somewhat isolated protest: 'Nowadays the white man regards the man of color precisely as the wealthy Romans of the Late Empire regarded their slaves—as a means of entertainment.' From this point of view it is regrettable that a whole section of the anthology should be given up to Negro stars; they are not the only stars in the firmament, and, even if we give knighthoods to our white stars, we do not exalt them as typical representatives of our culture and civilization.

Fourteen million American Negroes cannot be brought up on a diet of Frobenius (incidentally, let me add my plea to Ezra Pound's that this great German ethnologist should be made available to English readers; he is an infinitely better social philosopher than Spengler and has the merit of being a great explorer and a writer with a sense of style). But the Negroes must find their own culture, and Africa should be its focus. There they will find an indigenous culture, the study of which might lead to a Negro Renaissance, which is more than will come about by playing jazz to whites sated with their own culture. Actually, the values inherent in African culture are being absorbed more directly and more effectively by Europeans and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

show their influence above all in modern music and painting.

The influence of Negro sculpture on modern art is not specifically dealt with in this volume (though there is a long tale to tell), but the influence of their music has more than one article devoted to it, the most interesting being by George Antheil. 'Look where we may to-day,' he writes, 'beneath this classical music of Stravinsky, or beneath the cheap but infinitely touching "Berlinese" of Weill, or beneath the beery but interesting and strong (in a Breughel-like way) fabrications of Křenek, or for that matter the last creations of Schönberg, Milhaud, Auric . . . we find the note . . . the technic . . . the *æsthetic* of the Congo . . . all the more important and insidious in its influence because now it is more deeply hidden but now *everywhere* present.'

To state simply the qualities that make Negro art (including music and poetry) an influence of value in the post-classical culture of modern Europe may not be very easy. The Negroes have been able to create works of art because of 'their innate purity and primitiveness'; they have a plastic vision, but it is without volition. But, nevertheless, there is a tradition. The bronzes of Black Africa, for example, 'with their perfection of technique and maturity of style, establish beyond all question the antiquity of Negro art . . . Negro art has evolved from an extreme subtlety of analysis to the most abstract synthesis, controlled by those same laws of growth that took effect in Greece, Chaldea, and Mexico.' (Charles Ratton)

As another writer in this volume points out, the concept of 'art' is foreign to the Negro himself; it is only we Europeans and Americans who exalt the manifestations of Negro culture into the category of art. But precisely in that fact lies their virtue; art, we are beginning to discover, is almost wholly vitalized by intuitive processes, and these we have gradually suppressed in that process of humanization and intellectualization undergone by post-Renaissance civilizations. We now return to the child and to the savage for clear vision, pure enjoyment, and natural sensibility. To those who cannot think outside the categories of their decaying civilization, this must inevitably seem a retrograde step; but to those who see beyond degeneration to a conceivable regeneration, the only hope exists in this tendency in modern art.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS AND THE ARTS

Max Reinhardt—As Others See Him

SOME time ago we reprinted from the Conservative *Je Suis Partout* of Paris an interview with Max Reinhardt that depicted the great man engaged on a great task. 'I am producing the *Chauve-Souris*,' Reinhardt was quoted as saying, 'because I love this operetta and because it is bound to attain its fullest expression in Paris. It represents to me an ideal marriage between the flower of the French mind—of Meilhac—and the pollen of Austrian music. I should like to translate in this production of mine the spiritual witchcraft of the Viennese waltz.' But Boris de Schloezer, writing for the more radical *Nouvelle Revue Française*, has a different story to tell:—

'I purposely call this Reinhardt's *Chauve-Souris* and not Johann Strauss's. The able directing of the German producer has transformed the delightful operetta of the Viennese composer into a spectacular farce with musical accompaniment—a music so well arranged, or rather so ably deranged, that Strauss would have been only too glad to relinquish all claims of authorship in favor of the orchestra leader with whom the responsibility rests—Mr. Korngold.

'Of course, the producer has manifold rights. Some even say that there is no limit to what he may do, but his inventions, his tricks must be motivated from within. When Meyerhold presented the *Revizor* three years ago, many people protested against the liberties he took with Gogol. And yet these liberties were justified, for they brutally revealed an aspect of Gogol that had escaped us. Granting that Meyerhold may have been on the wrong track, he deformed the *Revizor* in order to serve it better.

'Nothing of the sort is true of Reinhardt's work. For him the play—be it Shakespeare's or Sophocles's, Molière's or Maeterlinck's—is always the pretext for a spectacle. And that is death for the theatre. Reinhardt no doubt has genius, but his pompous and complicated art stands for a period of decadence that, I trust, has breathed its last.'

All of which recalls the well-known 'Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?' For was it not Reinhardt who said that the text of a play was sacred and reproved the Soviet *régisseurs* for their 'deformed drama'?

Hitler Carols

THE naïveté and vulgarity of the Hitlerites have found expression anew. They have rewritten Germany's Christmas carols and introduced a new character—Adolf Hitler. To doubt the sincerity and good intentions of the ingenious author would be to miss the point entirely—vulgarity has not the wit to be insincere. But the impression on the innocent bystander is very similar to the shock he might receive from seeing a bit of tawdry vernacular chalked on the inside of a cathedral.

We quote the *Manchester Guardian*:—

'A little volume of carols has just been published in Berlin under the title of *Weihnachten im 3. Reich; Christmas in the Third Realm*. On the cover is a Christmas tree with lit candles and two chubby angels flying round it like plump midges. Above is the swastika, the all-dominating symbol of the Third Reich.

'That Reich allows no divided loyalties, and the author of the carols, Fritz von Rabenau, achieves the required fusion of spiritual and temporal sovereignties. The German Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, presides, as it were, with beaming, fatherly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

benevolence over the festivities, not as a usurper but as the Redeemer of the German people and in harmonious equality with the Redeemer of mankind.

'If the Third Reich has not been altogether successful in its effort to bring about a happy marriage of Nazi doctrine and the Protestant faith, it has achieved a union of politics, religion, and poetry in this book of carols, which are composed in the spirit of the newly created Nazi sect, the "German Christians."

'The author is able to capture the atmosphere of innocent piety so truly German that was lost under the domination of Jews and Liberals and has now been restored—as the Nazis say—by Adolf Hitler. He has refashioned the old and well-known carol, "*Stille Nacht, heilige Nacht.*" The old theme is that in the quiet Christmas night, when all else is asleep, the Virgin Mary, Joseph, and the Child hold lonely vigil. In the new Nazi version it is not the Holy Family that watches over mankind but Adolf Hitler who watches over the German people. The first two verses run:—

Stille Nacht, heilige Nacht,
Alles schläft, einsam wacht
Nur der Kanzler zu treuer Hut,
Wacht zu Deutschlands Gedeihen gut,
Immer für uns bedacht.

Stille Nacht, heilige Nacht,
Alles schläft, einsam wacht
Adolf Hitler für Deutschlands Geschick,
Führt uns zu Grösse, zu Ruhm, und zum Glück,
Giebt uns Deutschen die Macht.

(Quiet night, holy night, all are sleeping. Only the Chancellor watches alone with loyal guardianship, watches well that Germany may prosper. He's always thinking of us.

Quiet night, holy night, all are sleeping. Only Adolf Hitler watches over Germany's fate, he leads us to greatness, to fame, and to happiness, gives us Germans the power.)

'The period from the Revolution in 1918 to the establishment of the Third Reich and the ever-shining dawn is called the "System Period," for German republican democracy was, for the sake of simplicity, denounced not as this or that system but as "The System" by the Nazi leaders.

'Christmas in the "System Period" was a particularly lugubrious affair: "Mother, when is Father Christmas coming?" asks the little boy in a carol entitled "*Weihnachten in der Systemzeit.*" Father Christmas is so upset about "The System" that he has forgotten all about the child. But, says the mother with prophetic vision:—

Vergisst in diesem Jahr er Dich,
Im nächsten kommt er sicherlich!

(If he forgets you this year, he will certainly come next year.)

'The child, innocently unaware that "The System" is to blame, does not understand why Father Christmas should be so neglectful:—

Warum soll er vergessen mich?
Warum, warum? Lieb Muttchen sprich:
War ich nicht immer artig, nett,
Gehorsam, fromm und stets adrett?

(Why should he forget me? Why? Why? Tell me, mummy darling. Was n't I always good and nice, obedient, pious, and always tidy?)

'Evening comes, but no Father Christmas. It is all too sad for words, and the mother cannot bear it any longer:—

Und während drauss' der Mond still scheint,
Sie schmerzvoll in die Kissen weint.

(And while the moon shines silently outside, she weeps sorrowfully into the pillows.)

'A year later all is different. The carol "Christmas in the Third Reich" pulsates with joy and hope. Poverty has vanished, the "Winter Aid," a fund collected for the relief of distress, is distributed among the needy (that is to say, if they deserve it—pacifists, Liberals, and people of that kind naturally get nothing at all):—

Die Winterhilfe treu beschert
Die Volksgenossen, die es wert.

'There is jubilation everywhere, es-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pecially over the one-course meal (a pot of stew served out to the poor—disrespectful persons in Germany call it "Arisch"—that is, Aryan—stew):—

Ein jedes Kind in Land und Stadt
Zu Weihnacht seine Freude hat.
Das Eintopfessen, schmackhaft, fein
Bracht vielen Armen Sonnenschein.

(Each child in country and town has its joy at Christmas. The one-course meal, tasty and nice, brings sunshine to many poor people.)

'Everybody is willing to sacrifice something to help others:—

Beamte geben vom Gehalt
Dadurch verschwindet Elend bald.
Der Schaffende empor sich ringt.
Die Arbeitslosenziffer sinkt.

(Officials give a part of their salaries, whereby distress quickly vanishes. The efficient work their way up to success. The unemployment figures drop.)

'In fact, it is the first real Christmas since 1918, the year when "The System" was established. Christmas was all right in 1917—there was only a war on and nothing to worry about. But the outbreak of peace brought democracy, and for fifteen dreadful years Germany lived under "The System." But now that Hitler has swept it away:—

Zum erstenmal seit fünfzehn Jahren
Ist festlich uns're Stimmung wieder.

(For the first time for fifteen years our mood is festive once again.)

'The transformation is so prodigious that even France and England look at Germany with renewed respect:—

Zum erstenmal seit fünfzehn Jahren
Vor uns die Feinde Achtung haben,
Und freudig können wir gewahren
Auf deutschen Tischen Weihnachtgaben

(For the first time for fifteen years our enemies respect us, and we are joyfully aware of Christmas gifts on German tables.)

'It is Adolf Hitler who has made this wonder come to pass. So to him above all others are Christmas greetings due:—

Gewaltig ist sein Schaffensdrang.
Aufrecht sein Tun und kühn sein Gang.
Dabei war er zu jeder Frist
Ein gläubiger und frommer Christ.
Der Weinachtsgruss sei ihm geweiht:
Dass, mehr als je, sind wir bereit
Zu folgen ihm in Treue fest
Solange Gott uns leben lässt.

(He is a man of mighty urge and industry, his deeds are upright, his gait is bold. At the same time he was always a pious and believing Christian.

The Christmas greeting be dedicated to him. More than ever are we ready to follow him in firm loyalty as long as God gives us life.)'

The Case for Censorship

THE ideal of personal liberty has waned with prosperity. Those who believe that some connection exists between well-being and the desire of the individual to attain what we are pleased to call self-expression also believe that we shall return to the ideal of liberty only when and if economic conditions return to normal—whatever that may mean. For the present, however, there is little hope when such a paper as the *Nouvelles Littéraires* questions the right of the artist to write as he pleases. We quote Jean Schlumberger, author of *Saint Saturnin*, in this connection:—

'Because we still live on the fringes of an epoch when everyone could write whatever he chose, when anyone could throw all the rotten eggs he pleased at the established order of things, we are indignant to learn that the various dictatorships of Europe have restricted the right of the individual to express his ideas without restraint. We have enjoyed this privilege in its fullness for not more than thirty years, yet we have come to believe it an inalienable and sacred right. The unanimity with which all the new régimes have curtailed this right makes us wonder whether it is as essential to civilization as we have come to believe.

'All strong governments have held literature in check. Under the monarchy it was impossible either to publish a book with-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out the consent of the authorities or to introduce a new weave without the agreement of the weavers' guild. In both cases there was the same fear of upsetting the equilibrium of the established order, the same subordination of the individual to what was considered the common good. In our days of controlled economy and curtailment of individual initiative it is difficult to see how the free expression of thought, which is as social as any act in the field of economics, should alone escape all restrictions. Something within us raises a vehement protest, but the wave that has submerged half of Europe threatens us, and the best we can do is to consider it calmly.

'We should make a distinction between freedom in scientific research and freedom in art. It seems unfitting to curb the initiative of the mind when it aims only at the observation of facts or the formulation of hypotheses to explain facts that have already been noted. Scientific methods are truly international. An experiment begun in London may be continued in Tokyo. Every discovery is immediately completed in some other country. It is conceivable that a particular kind of research might be displeasing to the "mysticism" of a particular government and that the government should discourage it within the limits of its power. It is unimaginable, however, that it should stop or falsify that research. Every scientific discovery is immediately tested all over the world, and the various departments of science remain in such constant intercourse and are in such close interdependence that there are no frontiers so well guarded as to form impassable barriers.

'Literary thought, however, being bound to a particular language, presents a different problem, for its effect is more or less restricted to the representatives of that language. Furthermore, literary thought can be intimidated and altered and no verification of the facts can ever reveal the harm that indiscreet pressure has done.

'Let us admit that we have exaggerated the intangible and sacerdotal character of unbounded freedom. We have even tried to establish a little reign of terror in the name of art. It was enough that its interests should be at stake for every other consideration, no matter how respectable, to become unimportant. A book, which is the beginning of action and which may have all kinds of consequences, denied all responsibility simply on the ground that it might possess some literary value. An article would post itself behind a barricade and shoot wildly, little caring where its bullets landed. And in France—which is, along with China, the country that has the most respect for literary values—the poor public was sufficiently intimidated not to protest. Even the police hesitated to go against the taboo. Last year a call to military disobedience was overlooked simply because it was issued in verse form. Bad as they were, these verses claimed the literary privilege. It is this privilege that is in danger if we are entering upon a more severe epoch in which everything will be subordinated to the reëstablishment of a certain order. We may regret it; it would be going too far to conclude that all art is therefore ended.'

The less reactionary among us still may choose between two ways of thinking: Milton's belief in the power of truth to prevail against all opposition and John Stuart Mill's gentle and fearful love of a truth that is too fragile to endure.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SCIENCES AND SOCIETY

TECHNOLOGICAL UNEMPLOYMENT, the bogy man of economist, engineer, scientist, and just plain John Citizen, is again under fire. This time two eminent American research physicists enter the fray on the side of the angels: that is, in favor of the odd theory that the more machinery men have with which to produce goods and operate services, the more 'work' there will be for everyone. Speaking in New York under the auspices of the American Institute of Physics and the New York Electrical Society, Dr. Robert A. Millikan has flatly declared that 'there is no such thing as technological unemployment,' and he has predicted that future scientific research will develop gigantic industries capable of supporting huge numbers of workers. In this view Dr. Karl T. Compton, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, concurs. The theoretical basis of this attitude—the social necessity and value of continued scientific research—is entirely sound, and few will object to the plea of these distinguished physicists and their colleagues that the United States Government spend more rather than less on such activities. The fundamental error in their statements results from confusing productive labor (man-hours required per unit of fabricated product, an indisputably diminishing factor in the social process) with labor required to distribute, promote, and sell the product. Bearing in mind that the bulk of a country's purchasing power is still the measure of productive, not distributive or promotional, labor, it becomes obvious that no amount of auxiliary 'service' employment—whether behind a counter, in an office, or in a filling station—is going to bring back prosperity. Those who do most of the buying must get their money through producing something or other: this remains the first commandment of the dominant price-and-profit economy. It is not questioned, even by Drs. Millikan and Compton, that fewer and fewer workers can produce more and more goods; in fact, this tendency is accepted as a commonplace of the Power Age, which technocracy did so much to dramatize in this country. Whether or not labor displaced by machine processes finds remunerative activities elsewhere is an economic problem to be solved only by a realistic attack upon the fundamental contradictions of the 'price system,' which still regards both money and labor as commodities to be bought and sold in steadily contracting markets. 'Technological unemployment,' in so far as it means a reduction of labor through power production, is a cold fact that might as well be accepted without further quibbling.

'THE KMH ANALYSIS of Industrial Production' is the title of an extremely interesting paper on the subject of technology and its effects upon employment and productive capacity. Prepared by Dr. L. P. Alford, a consulting engineer, and Mr. J. E. Hannum, editor of the *Engineering Index Service*, on the basis of a seven-year, fact-finding investigation of data covering 12 billion man-hours of industrial productivity, this paper is an excellent antidote to the confused statements of those economists (and scientists) who think it is the function of science to make more work for human beings rather than less.

The symbol, 'KMH,' means 'kilo man-hour' and is thus defined by Messrs. Alford and Hannum:—

'Productivity is the rate, speed, or velocity of performing productive work. The rate of industrial production can be measured just as the speed of a moving automobile is measured . . . The speed of industrial production may be expressed as the rate of the quantity of product output per man-hour worked. For con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

venience the time factor used in the kmh method of measurement is 1,000 man-hours, or kilo man-hours, which has been shortened to kmh.'

In their study of the kmh factor of production the authors have been studying data relative to more than 700 goods, articles, and services turned out by American industries, making a total of 12 billion man-hours. Here are some of the findings, as set forth in the above-mentioned and earlier papers:—

'The productivity of American industry has been developed to such a high level of excellence that every human demand for necessities and every normal desire for luxuries can be fully satisfied.

'Changes in industrial productivity are substantially independent of conditions due to the expansion or recession of business activity or the operation of the business cycle.

'During a period of depression, when employment is being decreased by laying off the less efficient workers, productivity increases at high rates in well-managed plants.

'In well-managed industrial concerns the annual rate of increase in productivity is of the order of 8 per cent.'

IN SUPPORT OF these conclusions, so ominous in their implications for the present economic set-up, Messrs. Alford and Hannum give the results of an investigation into the production records of 110 companies over the period 1925–1931, divided into the relatively 'normal' interval, 1925–1928, and the depression interval, 1929–1931. It is shown that more than half of the companies whose 1928 productivity was higher than that of 1925 had a still higher production rate in 1931 after three years of increasing depression and that of those companies whose 1928 rate was lower than that of 1925 more than half had accelerated production in 1931. In other words, increased productivity in 1931 as compared with 1928 occurred in 88.2 per cent of the plants, while decreases were noted in only 11.8 per cent. The same trend was confirmed by a careful study of production rates in 89 manufacturing concerns for the eight-year period, 1923–1931, involving over two and one-third billion man-hours. From this it was shown that, while 25 per cent of the concerns registered average annual decreases in the rate of production of 3½ per cent, the remaining 75 per cent had an average annual increase in productivity of 8 per cent.

A few specific examples will help to illustrate this tendency—for which technology, with or without the vicious practice of 'speed-up,' is so largely responsible:—

Combined records of six automobile-tire plants showed that, in 1927, 1,000 man-hours of labor were required to make 980 tires. Five years later, in 1931, the production rate had been increased by nearly 40 per cent, to 1,370 tires per kmh.

In the manufacture of shoes, 1,000 man-hours will produce 55 pairs by exclusive hand fabrication, 424 pairs by a combination of hand and machine, and 928 pairs by machine methods alone.

The factor of obsolescence is clearly illustrated by the record of a paper mill, which increased its productivity from 50.6 short tons of newsprint per kmh to 69.8 short tons simply by installing more efficient equipment.

TO JUST WHAT EXTENT Dr. Compton was correct in saying that 'science has made jobs, not taken them away' may be inferred from the following brief tabulation of production rates in various industries, as determined by Messrs. Alford and Hannum in their exhaustive survey.

1,000 man-hours of labor (1 kmh) will produce or prepare for use:—

3,040 bushels of wheat
32,300 pounds of milk
6,542 dozen eggs
4,840 cubic yards of street excavation
266 short tons of anthracite coal
88,000 pounds of soap

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

599 long tons of pig iron
9 automobiles
4,020,000 pages of newspaper
129,300 kilowatt-hours of electric energy
1,152,000 ton-miles of freight carried by steam railways
18 dozen felt hats
1,232 barrels of flour
9,050,000 gallons of water supply
6,600 bales of cotton loaded on ships
24,500 passengers carried by street railways
1,213 yards of woolen and worsted fabrics.

These items, selected from a much longer list, are intended not only to show the diminishing part human labor plays in production and service operations but also to demonstrate the value of the kmh method in the quantitative analysis of the productive factors involved in what the Technocrats have loosely called a 'high-energy civilization.' It is worth noting that at least two United States Government departments—the Department of Labor and the Bureau of the Census—have recommended adoption of the kmh system, primarily as 'a method for determining the influence of technological change upon employment and unemployment.' The Bureau of the Census has already applied kmh analysis to the data of blast-furnace operation, machine-tool building, petroleum refining, and lumber manufacturing.

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS of the kmh system may be briefly outlined as follows:—

1. Past production rates, as indicated by the high levels of 1927–29, are by no means maximum rates; acceleration is not only possible but inevitable, and this acceleration can be justified only through a steady rise in the American standard of living—not, as at present, a steady decline.

2. In regard to earnings—wages, salaries, etc.—it has been shown that the highest production rates can be supported only by high wages; a fall in wages sooner or later leads to inefficient operation and low production.

3. Best production results are obtained on the basis of a short work period. The evidence shows that, in 1931, 35 hours of man labor per week produced as much as 51 hours in 1923: these are the exact figures revealed by studies conducted in Dr. Compton's own Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

4. In contradiction to the prevailing monopolistic trend of modern industry it was shown that, in general, small plants exhibit a higher effectiveness of operation than large, heavily centralized ones. The authors claim that 'mass production' correlates less with the size of the producing unit than with the production methods used. Technically, this illustrates the trend toward ever-increasing compactness of the prime movers and machinery used in production: the more horse power obtainable from a given unit, the more efficient.

5. In a study of 125 farm products the contention of point 4 was reversed: farming is most efficient on a large scale. Here the need is for greater centralization, in order adequately to lower production costs without affecting wages. This—although the authors do not make the comparison—is precisely what the Soviet Union has learned and is now practising on its immense collective farms.

TECHNICAL IMPROVEMENTS in the operation of American railroads certainly confirm Messrs. Alford and Hannum in their statement that productivity is quite independent of general business conditions. In a valuable study on 'Productivity, Hours, and Compensation of Railroad Labor' in the January issue of the *Monthly Labor Review*, Mr. Witt Bowden uncovers a store of interesting facts.

For example, those railroad employees classified under 'maintenance of way and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

structures' are closely bound up with the actual physical operation of railroad equipment. In 1922 this important group numbered 362,788 workers, and the productive capacity of each one, figured as the ratio of 'transportation traffic units' to total man-hours, was 91.9 (1926 equals 100). Ten years later, in 1932, despite severe declines in many branches of railroad service, each of the 215,887 maintenance-of-way-and-structures employees was able to deliver 153.1 units of service in relation to man-hours worked.

Here are some of the reasons that Mr. Bowden gives for this tremendous improvement:—

Replacement of old and worn-out rails by new, which lays a heavy demand upon labor, has been minimized by such technological factors as greater weight and resistance, higher tensile strengths of steel, manganese-alloy steel for use in frogs and crossings, new methods for testing and inspecting. Where replacements are called for, new welding methods are used. Faulty rails can be detected after laying by the Sperry Detector, thus avoiding serious damage and large expense.

Machines are now being used for ditching and shoveling, ballasting, tie-laying, rail-laying, driving and pulling spikes. The job of mowing and burning out the right of way once required from 300 to 800 man-hours of labor per mile. Machinery can now perform the same amount of work with 2 or 3 man-hours.

These examples only scratch the surface of one industry, but they indicate a trend not to be disposed of by the easy optimism of those who think that 'technological unemployment' is a myth created by nervous radicals or sensation-mongering engineers. If science did not, or could not, reduce human labor, society would have no use for it.

THE STEEL INDUSTRY shares with mining and railroads the doubtful—because economically unjust—honors of mechanization. Turn to an exceptionally well-documented volume called *Labor and Steel*, by Horace B. Davis (New York, International Publishers). This latest addition to the *Labor and Industry* series gives particular attention to the questions of machine production and technological developments as they affect labor. A few citations must suffice to stimulate the reader to find out more for himself:—

'Between 1909 and 1929 the horse power per wage-earner in the heavy industries increased from 12 to 17, or 42 per cent. Only 10 of 329 industries exceed steel in this respect: manufactured ice, with 44 horse power per wage-earner, tops the list.

'Productivity per worker in American blast furnaces increased 5,000 per cent, or fiftyfold, between 1850 and 1925. From 1900 to 1929 the average annual output per wage-earner in blast furnaces increased from 370 tons to 1,707 tons; for steel and rolling mills increase in the same period was from 82 to 138 gross tons.

'On the Lake Superior Iron Range, steam shovels raise 20 tons of ore at a throw, and nearly 13,000 tons of ore have been loaded on ships in 16½ minutes.

'Continuous mills for rolling plate are now perfected. These permit an entire series of complicated and once labor-consuming processes to be accomplished without human labor from start to finish. Twenty workers in one mill are now able to produce as much steel-plate tonnage as 360 produced formerly.'

Confirming these figures is the report of a steel worker in a Bethlehem Steel plant. Machinery has just been installed in the tin-plate mill at Sparrows Point, Md., which provides for automatic shearing of the material. This means that one operator can now do the work that formerly required six shearmen. Those to be laid off are not likely to take a philosophic view of the manner in which 'science creates jobs.'

—HAROLD WARD

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AS OTHERS SEE US

American Fascism

A CONTRIBUTOR to the *Sol* of Madrid, the leading Republican organ in Spain, has discovered symptoms of Fascism in the United States. He signs himself L. N. C. and he expresses the point of view of the liberals who made the Spanish Revolution two years ago:—

Names change, or, rather, different things are lumped together and given a common name that really belongs to none of them. Fascism in the United States is an example—for in America anything is called Fascism. But the truth is that many forms of Fascism existed before Mussolini, at least in latent form. The crisis merely brought them forward until Roosevelt relegated them, temporarily, to the background. And now Roosevelt's policy is considered Fascist, too.

Fascist groups quarrel on some points and agree on others. Each shows its animosity against one particular element in present-day society. Some accentuate anti-Semitism and attribute Jewish blood to those who disagree with them. Others display hatred of the Negroes, who are spurred on by social agitators. Others rise up against high finance and propose collectivizing the sources of wealth. Others exaggerate their hatred of the Socialists, who are hardly revolutionary at all in the United States. Lump these groups all together and you have North American Fascism.

We have received a book that speaks in dramatic tones of another phenomenon that seems to be eternal in the South. *Georgia Nigger* by John L. Spivak informs us with irrefutable photographs that slavery continues under a different name. This may not seem to have anything to do with Fascism, but it has. The authorities favor the employers and their counter-offensive against the workers, particularly the Negro. Before the class struggle became open, a certain humanitarianism softened its outlines; now nothing of the sort exists. The worker has risen as an enemy and is treated as such.

Spivak's book describes various methods by which the landowner keeps the peon in servitude. One of these is to lend money to a Negro to finance his crop, which he can pay back with interest, but at such a rate that he can never free himself from debt. If he tries to escape the authorities return him to the employer.

Another method is to punish crime and vagrancy very harshly. Under existing conditions many unemployed Negroes do not wish to find work. The authorities arrest them and demand a fine, which the Negroes cannot pay. As luck will have it, a landowner appears in the courtroom when they are tried and offers to pay the fine on condition that they go to work in his fields. The result is the same as in the case of the peon, and the landowner thus gets a 'hand' at a cheap price. Photographs prove that the master has not forgotten the ancient use of the whip.

Other pictures remind us of Hitler's concentration camps, for the State, not the employer, has become the oppressor. Gangs of prisoners work on the roads and on other public works with shackles on their legs as in Venezuela. Torture is common. Convicts are shown hanging by their wrists, doing penance for some crime or other.

Here are indications that the spirit of the South, slave-owning and defeated, has taken a new lease on life, complicated by the rivalries of capital and labor.

These embryonic Fascist tendencies are symptoms of one thing—that for the development of integral Fascism in the United States two things are necessary:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the constituted power must fail in its attempt to save—or at least to prop up—capitalistic economy and revolutionary forces must become a serious menace to the liberal order. The day when this happens we shall see many companies of militia arising in every state and county, ready for anything, and with all the rage that can be mustered in America. Those who can find no words to describe Hitler's horrors would be absolutely speechless if they could imagine the United States in a condition like that of Germany.

Some of these organizations do not hide their sympathies for the German Chancellor and even seem to be in communication with his lieutenants, as for example the Crusaders of Economic Liberty. Like all the others, they have chosen as their targets the Communists, the bankers, the Jews, and the gold standard. Others, like the Silver Shirts, preach the rule of Christ, a kind of coöperative community. Their leader, William Dudley Pelley, served with the Young Men's Christian Association in Siberia and says that he can communicate with spirits. The Order of '76 operates in secret and little is known of it. The Sentinels of the Republic seem to be the most radical and to have the most well-reasoned plans.

Here are just a few portents of what would happen if the forces of the Left took the initiative and the constitutional forces yielded. At present, the Left is marking time. The last elections showed the weakness of proletarian organizations in North America, and they don't seem to have improved much since then.

The worker, doubting the possibility of a government of his class, has accepted the New Deal enthusiastically as his best safeguard against all threats to make lynching a class law. That is why the Fascist elements are Roosevelt's best auxiliaries. On feeling their presence the masses will incline more and more toward him as the lesser evil—or perhaps the greatest good. Peaceful citizens who are not workers but still believe in the written law feel the same way. Consequently, in spite of strong opposition in some quarters, Roosevelt continues master of the situation and will probably remain so for some time. The great majority of the American people repudiate acts of violence, and the press condemns them, at least while more reasonable solutions can be found.

The day when these solutions fail there will be another story, unless, worse still, the national forces now in conflict turn abroad to face a greater danger. But in that case we enter upon imponderables.

Reformist America

PIERRE GÉROME, a radical French critic writing in *Europe*, offers this analysis of the New Deal:—

American reformism has as strong a popular hold in Europe to-day as it had in 1929; the only difference is that Roosevelt, not Ford, is admired. Our capitalists hated Ford as a rival, but they regard Roosevelt as the Devil incarnate. Yet most of us who comment on the Roosevelt 'experiment' forget American conditions. I believe that the U. S. A. was threatened with revolution when Mr. Roosevelt came into power. What revolution? The revolution of farmers, bankers, and gangsters. American civilization was on the verge of crumbling before a series of reactionary and anarchistic revolts; hence Mr. Roosevelt can smile at his critics. He acted by necessity, and he has led his country along the path to life. Nevertheless, people ask at what point the dollar will be stabilized and whether or not the 'experiment' will miss fire, as if it were a shooting match. A strange notion of historical development.

While seeking relief through monetary expedients, Mr. Roosevelt has been forced to modify the control of production. Even if at some future time he tries to apply the brakes, he has already determined the fate of American economy, which will

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

never be reëstablished as it was before 1932. But there is a contradiction between Mr. Roosevelt's aims and his methods. He is trying to reconcile the principles of capitalism and socialism. He wants to direct an enormous and prodigiously complicated mechanism without touching its motor,—individual profit,—which he wants to retain. Struggle and instability result. Will the solution be Fascist capitalism—that is, stunted, feudalized capitalism, or will it be democratic capitalism? It is a régime of obvious corruption, of organized collusion between capitalists and statesmen. It cannot last long. We must also consider another hypothesis. It is possible that the sudden transformation of America will give the labor movement a new lease of life, that the NRA syndicates will begin to act in their own names, and that the high-salaried proletariat, which the depression has transformed into a ragged one, will become organized to fight.

Epic Upton

UPTON SINCLAIR'S pamphlet, *I, Governor of California*, has received as harsh treatment in the press of the Soviet Union as his version of Eisenstein's *Thunder over Mexico*. Here is what *Izvestia* has to say:—

> Upton Sinclair, the well-known and worthy American writer, got angry. His anger was final and relentless; it was directed against the capitalist world. And thus he asks in almost tragic rage, unconsciously imitating the Biblical prophets, 'What is this madness that has fallen upon the people of my home state that they starve because they have produced too much food and go clothed in rags because they have woven too much cloth and sleep under bridges and in alleyways because they have built too many houses?'
>
> Sinclair is quite sincere in this tragic discontent. For more than thirty years his novels have been depicting the horrors of the capitalist system. But now, suffering like so many others in America from a four-year depression, he seems to be aware for the first time of its phantasmagorial power. Prophetic wrath has seized him. But, unlike the ancient prophets, Sinclair decided that the time had come to forsake books and turn to action. Having reached this overwhelming decision, he sat down at his desk and—wrote a new book.

To be sure, this is a book apart. It is a kind of manifesto, but—and in this it differs from all other manifestoes—it has a strictly business-like character. It is not so much a manifesto as an advertisement, and not so much an advertisement as self-propaganda. In short, this pamphlet tells what Upton Sinclair would do if in 1934 he were elected governor of the state of California. The pamphlet is called 'Epic,' an anagram of four words—End Poverty In California.

We are willing to admit that Upton Sinclair is sincerely angered by the capitalist world and that he really wants to change it. He offers his services in this worthy cause with deep seriousness, with maximum practicality, and with a touching faith in his own mission as a social reformer. And, indeed, why not—when it is all so simple, so devilishly simple?

> 'We have a great many factories standing idle, a great deal of land lying fallow, a great many people out of work. All we need to do is to give the unemployed work in the empty factories and on the deserted farms with the idea that they should provide for their own needs—food, clothing, and household equipment. Nothing could be simpler. A ten-year-old child could understand it, and the citizens of the state of California can realize this project as soon as they wish.'

But how is this project to be realized? Upton Sinclair must be chosen governor of California. Or, rather, not governor but dictator. Not dictator for life, to be sure; merely for a four-year term.

Let's imagine that Upton Sinclair has

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been chosen governor. How will he begin his 'epic' reformation? First of all, the new governor will create for his own use three wonderful organizations—the CAL, the CAP, and the CAM, which mean California Authority for Land, California Authority for Production, and California Authority for Money. The Authority for Land will buy all available land and send out as colonists all the unemployed farmers, creating special colonies of the kolkhoz 'type.' The Authority for Production will acquire the empty factories, particularly those that produce food, building materials, and consumers' goods, and will hand them over to the unemployed, who will produce just enough for their own consumption and for purposes of exchange with the products of the agricultural colonies. The Authority for Money will take charge of the financial side of both the Authority for Land and the Authority for Production. It will print one kind of currency to pay the owners of factories and land and another kind of currency to pay the workers and farmers. This currency will be secured by funds received from a considerable increase of taxation on capitalist enterprise and on the inheritance of private property. In this way, an 'epic' island will be created in the midst of capitalism. It is taken for granted, of course, that capitalist industry and agriculture will not be able to withstand the strain of either the taxation or the 'epic' competition and that at the end of the four-year plan the entire state of California will turn 'epic.'

But is that all? This pamphlet also includes the story of how Upton Sinclair fought for his programme in the last election, how he conquered, and how he devised an emblem for his enterprise—a golden bee with these words printed above: 'I produce. I defend.'

He tells how the 'epic' colonies and factories develop and grow. At the end of the four-year plan all the 'epic' citizens of the state of California work two hours a day, only one beggar is left in the whole state, and the other forty-seven states of the Union want to take part in the 'epic' system, to which he, Upton Sinclair, is quite agreeable, not insisting—for the first time in his life—on his author's rights. But all this is the ornamental side of Sinclair's epic manifesto. In the practical portion of the book he emphasizes that this grandiose plan can be realized within the limits set by the American Constitution and that it is our only safeguard against 'Fascism and Bolshevism.'

Let us put aside the cruel thought that Upton Sinclair does not know what he is doing. His colleagues, the best writers in America,—Dreiser, Anderson, Dos Passos, Waldo Frank, Malcolm Cowley, Michael Gold,—hate the capitalist world as much as he does and want not only to satirize but to fight it. But they publish no manifestoes and make no effort to get themselves elected governor. They have found other weapons. Let us grant that it is only Upton Sinclair's naïveté that keeps him from being with them, although to-day in America even ten-year-old children are no longer naïve and the naïveté of a sixty-year-old buccaneer passes beyond the limits of the comic into the criminal. For 'epic' Upton has raised a cloud of 'epic' dust with his manifesto, which might cloud the view of some people at the very moment when the American intelligentsia is so much in need of clear vision. Of course, this cloud will dissolve itself. The 'epic' fountain will dry up. But the naïveté of Upton Sinclair should be punished, if only for his own sake. Yes, indeed, we hope that he will be elected governor of California.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUR OWN BOOKSHELF

China's Geographic Foundations. *A Survey of the Land and the People. By George Babcock Cressey. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1934. $4.00.*

HERE is a volume on China that deserves to rank with such authorities as Walter H. Mallory, F. H. King, H. Foster Bain, L. H. Dudley Buxton, Lossing Buck, and others. Dr. Cressey, a geologist by profession, with ten years of travel and research in China to his credit, has produced a superb monograph so packed with carefully organized and intelligently interpreted information that it is an encyclopedia in itself. Of prime importance are the chapters dealing with climate, population, agriculture, and natural resources. Believing that 'the Chinese landscape is a biophysical unity, knit together as intimately as a tree and the soil from which it grows,' Dr. Cressey exhibits this gigantic landscape to us by way of facts, figures, diagrams, statistical tables, descriptions, photographs, and—of the utmost value—many detail maps of different regions. Although the current political situation is very lightly touched upon and the special problems arising from Soviet China and from Manchuria are little more than intimated, considerable material on both the industrial and commercial aspects of the country is presented. No conscientious reader of Dr. Cressey's admirable volume—and it is to be hoped that there will be many such—can fail to obtain from it a deeper understanding of the potentialities and limitations of the Far East.

H. W.

A History of American Graphic Humor. *By William Murrell, with a foreword by Christopher Morley. Vol. I, 1747–1865. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art. 1933. $5.00.*

MR. MURRELL is that rare thing: a scholar with a sense of humor and a gift for subtle irony. The first two sentences of his opening chapter strike the keynote of the entire volume: 'The graphic humor of a people is in essence a vernacular record of the social and political history of that people. It is opinion in motley and laughter in homespun.' Two years of patient research—from which, as Mr. Morley felicitously observes, Mr. Murrell emerged 'without even a trace of dust'—have resulted in a work that will go far toward illuminating the background of the American scene, and the more than two hundred reproductions of cartoons, caricatures, and graphic lampoons will prove a revelation even to the hardened collector. It is interesting to learn that 'Franklin, the instigator of the cartoon in America, was the first public man to be ridiculed by its means'; that Paul Revere, spoiled darling of the patriot, achieved much fame by an engraving that he deliberately stole from Henry Pelham; that derogatory cartoons of Washington are suspiciously scarce; and that the *Book of Nonsense* of Edward Lear inspired many American imitations—among them albums sponsored by forerunners of the Red Cross. American colonial history, beset with pitfalls and ambiguities even for the orthodox historian of texts and documents, speaks in these handsome pages with a vividness by no means entirely due to the reproductions offered in such generous measure. The Whitney Museum is to be complimented for undertaking the publication of this monograph on a long-neglected aspect of American life and for the choice of Mr. Murrell as its historian.

H. W.

Birth Control in Practice. *By Marie E. Kopp. New York: Robert M. McBride and Co. 1934. $3.75.*

HERE, if anywhere, are to be found the facts regarding birth control in the United States. The pioneer work initiated by Margaret Sanger and carried on by the Birth Control Clinic, which she established in New York in 1923, receives in this heavily documented book a testimonial of the utmost value to all students of social problems. With the constant support of carefully worked out statistical tables based on cases admitted to the clinic from January, 1925, to July, 1929, we are shown the relation of birth control to religious, social, occupational, and economic factors; to the questions of health, marital difficulties, and family development; and to the highly controversial question of contraceptives, their use and limitations. The material

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

presented, exceedingly complex in character and admittedly limited in scope, will make no appeal to those who associate its subject with *risqué* sex stories or Sunday-Supplement sensations; but to those who desire an impartial and conscientious analysis of what has become one of the leading social issues of the modern world, Dr. Kopp's volume is—and will, for a long time to come, remain—indispensable.

H. W.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION. *Study Guide for Group and Class Discussion. By Harold Rugg and Marvin Krueger. New York: The John Day Company. 1933. $0.85.*

THIS paper-bound syllabus of a hundred and forty pages ought to keep current-events reading clubs well supplied with problems for succinct discussion, also with many current book titles for understanding perusal, and with all those enthusiastic, entertaining, realistic, thought provoking, stimulating, vivid, visual, and vitalized educational stimuli that are designed to enable students *et al* to face realistically a 'life situation.' In brief, it is a dynamic experiment to break through the contemporary frontier of public knowledge: a well-conditioned reflex from the 'felt-need' of politico-economic, socialized, educational necessity: a heroic type-measurement of 'ahistoric' complexities that confront our earnest and mentally harassed citizens, who have long been faithfully instructed to 'solve their problems in a democratic way.'

L. W. E.

HISTORICAL MATERIAL. *By Lucy Maynard Salmon. New York: Oxford University Press. 1933. $2.50.*

HARSH criticism of posthumously published, unfinished manuscript is hardly 'the manly thing.' If, however, this manuscript had been carefully edited, half the errors and faults of fact, of judgment, of redundancy, and of difficult, unreasonable punctuation might have been eliminated or rectified. The first two chapters are excellent, and these, perhaps, the author herself revised. Yet the scholarship is mechanical, and the judgments are largely pseudo-scientific and in no way original. Where the author did succeed was in making clear, if not in defining, what historical material is, and for this essential purpose we know of no other book in print that better deserves the attention of the general reader, for whom this volume must have been intended, or of the graduate student.

L. W. E.

THE PARIS FRONT. *An Unpublished Diary: 1914–1918. By Michel Corday. Translated from the French. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1934. $5.00.*

M. CORDAY might have borrowed a phrase from his friend Proust and christened his work 'The Damnation of the Belliculturists' or 'A French Civil Servant Explains the Secret of Immunity from Press Reports, Public Opinion, and Official *Communiqués*.' For his war diary, published at H. G. Wells's request 'just as it stands,' offers convincing proof that when a Frenchman is rational and humane he can even forget that he is first and foremost a Frenchman. Indeed, one wonders how this friend of Viviani, Briand, Painlevé, Anatole France, Romain Rolland, and of numerous other grand men of France, lived through the war, retained his position in the government, and kept his sanity. His words reflect the bitterness and the ennui of an idealist who felt that the world had gone mad, that 'to preserve one's sense of justice one would have to project oneself into the soul of the enemy.'

This does not mean, however, that the work is pessimistic or hypochondriac. On the contrary it is probably Michel Corday's sense of humor, his sense of proportionment in all things, and his skill at alighting with dainty vigor on all the dainty bits of scandal that come his way that will infuse the reader with a glow of sweet delight. For this book has potential best-seller qualities, and if it strikes fire,—which we hope it does,—we shall be among the first to congratulate the altruistic publisher who has even included an index of famous names for target shooters.

L. W. E.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WITH THE ADVISORY COUNCIL

NEXT month THE LIVING AGE celebrates its ninetieth anniversary of unbroken publication. The first issue was published by Eliakim Littell on May 11, 1844. Our next issue, number 4412, will contain many features commemorating the occasion, including messages from members of our Advisory Council. But so many of their messages have already arrived that we are presenting some of them this month and, at the same time, advise our readers to be on the lookout for the May, 1934, LIVING AGE.

'My tribute to THE LIVING AGE on its ninetieth birthday is to express the wish that it may go on Living for many an Age more until its message shall be expressed not in the Age, but in all time. That message seems to me to be ethically an emphasis on justice and truth, technically a reading of the future by scientific analysis of present and past, artistically the choice of clear thinkers and entertaining writers. Withal, I like the "Age" more than other informative magazines because it presents its material with no pushing or shoving. The editor may have his opinions, but he "walks humbly."' —William M. Blatt, Boston attorney.

'Sixty years ago—when the "masters" of our grammar schools were the intellectual equivalent of the college professors of to-day—the one publication that made a dent in my memory was what the teachers called "Littell's." The almost reverential enunciation of the word connoted respect, appreciation, and finality. I am one of the many who are grateful that this publication has not relinquished its position as a literary aristocrat.'—Hermon C. Bumpus, Providence educator.

'I first knew THE LIVING AGE when I was a youngster of twelve. It had for me, then, a fascination of something strange and foreign. It added lustre to the pictures and maps in my shabby geography book, and it gave me a lasting impression that the world is wide. I know now that such an impression is precious to every growing American, for he is very apt to have horizons that are narrow and restricted. So it is with genuine heartiness that I congratulate THE LIVING AGE on its ninetieth birthday, and I think that even at ninety its great appeal should be to young Americans, for THE LIVING AGE is a stanch and vigorous foe of American provincialism.' —Charles J. Connick.

'The attainment of a ninetieth birthday is always an occasion of congratulation and well-wishing. When a human being achieves that venerable maturity, his friends salute him, marvel duly at his longevity, and bid him Godspeed toward the centenary. How much more remarkable is the achievement of a periodical in braving the rigors of nine decades! It is the more extraordinary when the publication is able to show, as is THE LIVING AGE, an unbroken record of high purpose, policy, and standards throughout the years. As we cast a speculative eye upon the future of the magazine we see the possibility not merely of one but of many more decades of increasing usefulness. We cherish the hope that such may be its fortune and the fortune of the public it ably serves.'—Harry W. Chase, chancellor of New York University.

'THE LIVING AGE—a review that for ninety years has marked the best thought in the affairs of a changing world—is, indeed, well named. Comprehensive yet selective, progressive yet sound, this periodical brings important contributions to informed American citizenship, which is more essential to-day than ever before in our national life.'—Rear Admiral W. T. Cluverius, U. S. N.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'There is an old French proverb meaning, "To understand all is to be charitable toward all." The qualities of charity as pronounced by Jesus, the ideal of the Christian world, are such as to magnify the value of agencies fostering international understanding. May I congratulate THE LIVING AGE on its ninetieth birthday as preëminently qualifying as a contributor to an understanding among the nations of the earth and an agency for "peace on earth and good will among men?"'—W. M. Crook, Beaumont, Texas, attorney.

'Personally and on behalf of Willamette University, allow me to congratulate THE LIVING AGE on the attainment of its ninetieth birthday. My youthful mind was largely nourished by this periodical, and it was a most delightful visitor during most of my adult years. I still have uncounted copies of the magazine preserved for rereading when the expected leisure is realized. Assuredly this magazine has been significantly formative of American opinion.'—Carl G. Doney, president of Willamette University.

'My congratulations and best wishes are extended to THE LIVING AGE on the celebration of its ninetieth birthday. For a good many years I have been reading THE LIVING AGE regularly. It gives me the best information that I get from any source as to the viewpoint of foreigners concerning affairs in their own countries and in foreign countries including America. I also secure from THE LIVING AGE information about important matters in foreign countries, which otherwise would not come to my notice. Long life to THE LIVING AGE.'—J. C. Futrall, president of the University of Arkansas.

'Please accept my cordial congratulations on the ninetieth birthday of THE LIVING AGE. May it long continue to maintain its high standards of fairness and accuracy in reflecting foreign affairs and foreign thought. This is a service greatly needed in this country.'—Henry W. Holmes, dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education.

'Ninety years of contributions to the American reading public through its pages—THE LIVING AGE speaks eloquently of the farsightedness of Mr. Littell in establishing what is recognized to-day as a most enlightened and valuable publication in the presentation of international developments.'—W. M. Jardine, former Secretary of Agriculture.

'Those ninety years of THE LIVING AGE are a splendid inheritance for any magazine. Indeed, I do not know of any publication here or abroad that covers this drifting and uncertain world these days so thoroughly and intelligently as THE LIVING AGE. Good luck to it.'—Henry L. Stoddard, New York publisher.

'The maintenance of an elevated literary standard and of substantial educational and informative efforts by LITTELL'S LIVING AGE for over ninety years is a noteworthy achievement. I congratulate you upon the occasion of the magazine's ninetieth birthday.'—J. Hampton Moore, mayor of Philadelphia.

'Certainly, congratulations are in order on the occasion of the ninetieth birthday of THE LIVING AGE. As the representative of an institution that will celebrate its one hundred and fifteenth anniversary this year, may we extend our sincere congratulations to a younger contemporary.

'Indeed, the best exemplification of the usefulness of THE LIVING AGE has been its continued progress in its chosen field. Never has there been a time in our history when clear understanding of the sentiment of other countries was more vital to the well-being of our own country.'—Wilson G. Wing, president of the Providence Institution for Savings.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMING EVENTS

Austria

BRAND. May 6, Ski Races.
DELLACH. May 20–21, Golf Tournament.
HALLSTATT. May 31, Corpus-Christi Procession on the Lake.
HEILIGENBLUT. May 20–21, Ski Races.
HINTERTUX. May 27, Ski Races.
PARTHENEN. April 29, Ski Races.
PLOECKENHAUS. May 6, Ski Races with Austrian Army Team.
SEEFELD. May 10, Ski Races and Slalom Races.
TRAUNKIRCHEN. May 31, Corpus-Christi Procession.
VIENNA. April 15–30, Spring Art Exhibition at Burggarten; *April 15–May 30*, Spring Art Exhibition at Kuenstlerhaus; *April 15, 22, 29, May 6, 13, 20, 27*, Spanish-Riding-School Performances; *26–29*, Wiener-Golf-Club Tournament; *May 11–30*, International Golf Tournament; *24*, International Derby Meeting; *20–27*, International Golf Tournament; *26–27*, Austrian Championship in Fencing with Sabre and Foil; *27*, International Derby Meeting; *27–June 17*, Vienna Festival Weeks with special performances in Opera House, Concert Halls, Pageants, and Sports Events; *28–June 10*, International Courses in Dermatology; *June–July*, Spring Art Exhibition at Secession; *June 3*, International Derby and International Golf Tournament; *6*, International Derby; *7*, Golf Tournament for Men and Women; *9*, International Derby; *10*, Derby and Golf Tournament; *16*, Golf Tournament; *16–17*, Road Races through Austrian Alps for Automobiles and Motorcycles.

Chile

NATIONAL CELEBRATION. May 21, Day commemorating Iquique Naval Battle.

Cuba

NATIONAL CELEBRATION. May 20, Independence Day.

England

BAMPTON. May 21, Folk-Dance Festival.
BATH. May 3, Champion Dog Show; *29–30*, Racing; *June 27*, Archery.
BLACKPOOL. May 7–12, British Championship Dance Festival; *June 6–7*, Championship Dog Show.
BOURNEMOUTH. April 30–May 5, Hard-Court Tennis Championships of Great Britain; *June 18–23*, Open Croquet Tournament; *27–28*, Summer Flower Show.
BRIGHTON. April 17–19, Gypsy Fair; *May 26–June 2*, Music Festival; *June 20–21*, Sussex Agricultural Show; *June 27–28*, Racing.
CANTERBURY. June 9–16, Canterbury Cathedral Festival.
CARDIFF. May 29–June 9, South Wales Industrial Exhibition.
CHELTENHAM. April 18–19, Racing.
CHESTER. April 26–28, Music Festival; *May 8–10*, Racing.
CORNWALL. June 23, Bonfires on Hilltops.
EASTBOURNE. May 21–26, Open Bowls Tournament.
FOLKESTONE. May 8–10, Racing; *June 25–26*, Racing.
GREAT YARMOUTH. May 23–24, Racing.
HASTINGS. May 18–21, British Esperanto Congress.
HATFIELD. June 14, Hertfordshire Agricultural Show.
HELSTON, CORNWALL. May 8, 'Furry Dance.'
HENLEY-ON-THAMES. May 23–24, Oxfordshire Agricultural Show.
HEREFORD. May 8–10, May Pleasure Fair.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KINGSTEIGNTON. May 22, Ram Roasting and Annual Fair.
LEICESTER. June 9–13, Advertising Convention.
LINCOLN. April 23–28, April Pleasure Agricultural Fair; *June 20–22*, Lincolnshire Agricultural Show.
LLANDUDNO. June 20. Rose Day Festival.
LONDON. April 23, Annual Service of the Order of St. Michael and St. George at St. Paul's Cathedral; *28*, Association Football: Cup Final at Wembley Stadium; *May 7–12*, Pageant of Labor at Crystal Palace; *7–August 6*, Royal Academy Art Exhibition; *17–June 2*, Royal Naval, Military, and Air Force Tournament at Olympia; *21*, Horse-Cart Parade; *30–June 1*, Chelsea Flower Show at Royal Chelsea Hospital Gardens; *June 2*, 'Trooping the Color' on the Horse-Guards Parade; *6*, Derby at Epsom; *6–30*, Society of Women Artists Exhibition; *15–16*, Lawn Tennis: Wightman Cup at Wimbledon; *25–July 7*, Lawn-Tennis Championships at Wimbledon.
MANCHESTER. April 17–May 5, Exhibition: Quarter-Century Firms; *May 29–June 9*, Branded-Goods Trade Exhibition.
NORWICH. April 19–21, Flower Show; *May 9–12*, Norfolk Music Festival.
OXFORD. May 1, Choral Service at Sunrise on the Tower of Magdalen College.
PETERBOROUGH. June 27, Foxhound Show.
RUNNYMEDE. June 15, Magna Carta Day.
ST. IVES, HUNTINGDONSHIRE. May 22, 'Dicing for Bibles.'
STRATFORD-ON-AVON. April 23, Shakespeare's Birthday Celebrations; *May*, *June*, Shakespeare Dramatic Season.

FINLAND

NATIONAL CELEBRATION. May 12, Snellman Day.

FRANCE

CHARTRES. May 7–27, Fair of the Barricades.
FÉCAMP. May 27, Pilgrimage of the Precious Blood.
LA ROCHELLE. May 20, International Music Contest.
LE FAOUËT. June 25, Pardon.
LISIEUX. April 29, Pilgrimage; *May 5*, Fiftieth Anniversary of First Communion of Sainte Thérèse; *17*, Ninth Anniversary of the Canonization of Sainte Thérèse.
NICE. April 16, Opening of Riviera Horse Show; *20*, Lawn-Tennis Championship.
ORLÉANS. May 7–8, Annual Commemoration of Joan of Arc's Victory.
PARIS. April 30, Opening of Fine-Arts Salon at the Grand Palais; *May 13*, Festivities in honor of Joan of Arc; *30*, Memorial Day Services in American Cathedral; *June 17*, Beginning of Great Fortnight: Horse Racing and Festivities.
RAMBOUILLET. May 27–28, Lily of the Valley Festival.
ROUEN. May 30, Celebration of Martyrdom of Joan of Arc.
VERSAILLES. May 6, *June 3*, Gala Fountain Display in Gardens.

IRELAND

BELFAST. May 30–June 2, Royal Ulster Agricultural Show.
DUBLIN. May 5, International Motor Cycle Racing; *7–12*, All-Ireland Music Festival.
LONDONDERRY. May 12, Motor Cycle Racing.

RUSSIA

NATIONAL CELEBRATION. May 1, International Workers' Day.

SCOTLAND

AYR. June 16–23, Historical Pageant of Ayrshire.
ST. ANDREWS. June 14–15, Golf: Great Britain *v.* U. S. A. for the Walker Cup.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE GUIDE POST
(Continued)

early in February and belabors the 'economystics,' as Harold Ward calls them, for refusing to budge from their eighteenth-century storm cellar.

EGON FRIEDELL'S 'Notes on Pre-History' go back far beyond the time of Adam Smith and are a literary rather than a scholarly performance. Herr Friedell's *Cultural History of the Modern Age* has appeared in three volumes in English translation and is certainly one of the most readable and provocative works we have come across in some time. The author used to be an actor and has collaborated on the writing of several plays. He is a Spengler with a sense of humor.

G. K. CHESTERTON'S fifteen-minute radio talk, originally entitled 'Seven Days' Hard,' contains not only the wisdom of an ancient faith but the humanity of one of its most human disciples. Every time we come across such utterances as this in the *Listener* we find ourselves drawing mournful comparisons between our own broadcasts and those of Great Britain. But perhaps every nation gets the radio that it deserves.

PAUL VALÉRY gives us the wisdom of the agnostic æsthete. This essay appeared two years ago in the *Saturday Review* of London, and for some unaccountable reason we did not pounce on it when it appeared but laid it aside and forgot about it until just the other day.

TO THE wisdom of priest and pagan we add the wisdom of the physician. Dr. Walter Weisbach's 'How Long Can Man Live?' is drawn from a forthcoming book and contains some sound advice and some surprising figures.

THE uprisings in Paris and Vienna, the political manœuvres of Mussolini, Dollfuss, and Premier Goemboes of Hungary, and Germany's insistence that she is going to rearm anyway have aroused the fear of war in Europe. We have therefore prepared an editorial article, which attempts to point out that class feeling runs at least as strong as national feeling in Europe today and analyzes the present atmosphere of Europe as one of revolution rather than impending war. Nations may fight one another but not, we believe, as they did between 1914 and 1918 or in Napoleon's time. Rather does Europe seem to be going through the same processes of revolution and counter-revolution that have occurred twice before—once after the Reformation and again after the French Revolution.

A FIRST-RATE article on James Joyce is always a literary event, but Ronald Symond's essay has the further advantage of appearing at the same time that *Ulysses* is allowed to be published in the United States. Mr. Symond discusses Joyce's latest effort, *Work in Progress*, and makes a good deal of sense out of it.

JACQUES COPEAU, one of the greatest actors and directors in Europe, who is about to return to the Parisian stage, is the subject of an essay in our 'Persons and Personages' department. A dozen years ago Copeau's troupe at the Vieux-Colombier theatre in the Saint-Germain quarter of Paris presented Copeau's own adaptation of Dostoievski's *Brothers Karamazov*, which ranked with the version of the Moscow Art Theatre. The writer of these lines will never forget the experience of that performance and advises every American in the vicinity of Paris not to miss an evening with Copeau.

HAVING reprinted an article describing Fritz Thyssen as the 'Man behind Hitler,' we present this month 'Germany's Uncrowned King,' Otto Meissner, who is said to have manipulated every German chancellor since the war.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED